

THIRD PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE
RESTORATION OF THE FRESCOES
IN THE KARIYE CAMII AT ISTANBUL
BY THE BYZANTINE INSTITUTE

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DURING the season of 1956, which began April 3 and ended December 7, the restoration of the frescoes in the vaults and lunettes in the upper zone of the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii was virtually completed, leaving only the paintings of the lower zone still to be uncovered.* The paintings to be dealt with in this third report cover the entire surfaces of the domical vault and the two lunettes on the walls at each side in the eastern bay (fig. 2). The paintings in the vault, the northern lunette, and the eastern half of the southern lunette depict *The Second Coming of Christ*. In the western half of the southern lunette the subject is *The Bearing of the Ark of the Covenant to Solomon's Temple*, the first of a series of four scenes, the last three of which were published in the "Second Preliminary Report."¹

The general direction of all field work of the Byzantine Institute was, this year, shared by the author with Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins and Mr. Laurence Majewski to whom much is owed for the capable way in which they executed the varied aspects of their work. Special thanks are due again to the Metropolitan Museum of New York for releasing Mr. Majewski to the Byzantine Institute for the duration of the season of 1956. As in previous years, Mr. Carroll Wales, ably assisted by Mr. Constantine Causis, was responsible for the technical work in the restoration of the frescoes. Their devoted and skillful services demand special recognition. The Byzantine Institute again wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to all private benefactors and to the Bollingen Foundation and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for their generous support which has enabled it to carry on its work in Istanbul. Most grateful acknowledgement is made of the enlightened policy of the Turkish Government and its officers for sympathetically extending both aid and encouragement to the Byzantine Institute and its staff in restoring monuments of Christian art in Istanbul. By his friendly cooperation and scholarly interest Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, Director of Ayasofya and Kariye Camii Museums, has greatly contributed to the success of the work. To the officers of the Ministry of National Education and to the

* For the First and Second Preliminary Reports, see *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955-1956), pp. 253-288, and 11 (1957), pp. 173-220. The paintings on the walls of the apse and bema, in the lower zone, have been restored and were published in the "Second Preliminary Report." Owing to repairs to the structure of the vaults of the Parecclesion, which were still in progress in 1956, some work still remains to be done in minor areas of the paintings in the upper zone.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 188-194 and figs. 20-26.

Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments of Istanbul the officers and staff of the Byzantine Institute are also greatly indebted.

In plan, the vault over the eastern bay of the Parecclesion (fig. 2) is very nearly square. Its form is that of a domical vault, hereafter referred to as the vault, whose structure and curvature grow out of, and continue, those of its pendentives without any noticeable deviation of surface. The bay covered by the vault measures 4.77 m. along the east-west axis, from the crown of the eastern arch to the crown of the western arch, and 4.69 m. on the cross axis between the crowns of the two lateral arches that frame the lunettes in the north and south walls. Since the vault rises, at the summit, to a height of 1.72 m. above a line strung from the crowns of the eastern and western arches, and the latter rise 2.50 m. above the lower points of the pendentives at the level of the cornice, the total vertical rise in the domical vault, including its pendentives, is 4.22 m.

The condition of the paintings in this vault, and something of the condition of the fabric of the vault itself before work of restoration was begun, can be seen in Figure 1. A great fissure in the masonry, caused by earthquakes, runs completely across the vault from north to south. The structure of the Parecclesion was thus physically separated into two self-sustaining units, and this fracture caused what are, perhaps, the major losses in the paintings of this bay. Its path can be traced in Figures 1 and 2, before and after restoration, as it crosses the vault somewhat to the east of center. In the north wall (figs. 32 and 33) it passes through the lunette and through the arched doorway in the lower zone below the cornice that leads into the *diaconicon*. In the southern wall (figs. 36-38), the break in the masonry passes through the central unit of the triple window in the lunette and downward through the *arcosolium* below the cornice in the lower zone, and continues downward through the foundations. The physical separation caused by this break amounts to .08 m. and the two parts of the structure were thrown out of alignment, the eastern portion having been shifted .025 m. southward. Originally, therefore, the east-west and north-south dimensions of the bay were equal, i.e., 4.69 m.

As a result of this fracture in the masonry a considerably wider strip of painted plaster, varying in width from .13 m. at one point near its northern end to .36 m. at another point in the southern half of the vault, became detached from the masonry and fell. Even wider losses than these occur in the northern lunette and above the window in the southern lunette. In the course of restoration, all Turkish plaster patches were removed, the fissure was filled with bricks obtained from ancient ruins in Istanbul, and the

structure was thus made homogeneous. New plaster was carefully applied and toned with grays, yellows, and blacks, as required, along its course so as to blend with the various passages of original painting through which the fissure passed (see figures 2 and 3). Thus the patch was made as inconspicuous as possible while its existence was not in any sense disguised, and no attempt was made to complete lost figures or other details. The aim was to enable the beholder to "read" the composition of the scene by reducing to a minimum the disturbance to the composition caused by the loss of original painting.

Serious though this damage is in the more important eastern half of the vault, the remainder of the painting in that half was found in good condition, and in certain places its state of preservation is excellent. The western half of the vault (fig. 4) contains two areas of relatively extensive loss of original painted plaster. In Figures 1 and 2 their extent can be fairly readily defined. One, near the crown of the western transverse arch, is not actually as extensive as would appear in Figures 2 and 4 where the bare brick has not yet been replastered.² Most of the painting in the area extending from a line at the level of the bottom of the clouds to the crown of the arch still exists, but has been temporarily removed to permit the arch and that part of the vault to be consolidated. The extent of the loss is actually little more than one square meter, less than half the amount of bare brick now exposed. The limits of this loss, however, encompassed very nearly all of the Chorus of Holy Women (see figures 10 and 11). The other major loss of original painted plaster occurs above the northwestern pendentive (right center in fig. 4). The patching plaster that had filled this loss (see figure 1, upper left) was removed and the area was replastered (figs. 2 and 4). Its extent, too, was about one square meter. Part of this area of lost plaster included the lower left part of the Chorus of Apostles (see figure 12). It extended to the edge of the vault and included the narrow soffit of the arch above the northern lunette (far right in figure 4) as well as a strip of painted plaster along the right-hand edge of the northwestern pendentive (see also figures 26 and 30).

More serious than these localized losses of plaster, however, was the general deterioration of the painted surface itself in the western half of the vault. With the exception of the vestments of the Bishops (fig. 9) and occasional small passages in the painting of the garments in the choirs of Holy Men (fig. 10) and of Apostles (fig. 12), the surface paint has suffered badly

² At the time these photographs were taken (early November, 1956), restoration of the arch to the west of the vault was in progress and repairs to the fabric of the vault itself were shortly to be begun. For these reasons, the area was left unplastered.

throughout the circle of clouds and the pendentives of the western half of the vault, and for the most part little more than the underpainting now remains.

Examination of the plaster joints in the vault and its pendentives shows that the painters applied their plaster in six separate areas and operations. The vault itself, excluding the pendentives, was plastered in two parts and the line of juncture and overlap can be clearly traced (figs. 2 and 5) across the north-south axis of the composition. The joint can be seen to pass through the black of the background above the heads of the assembled angels, separating them from the Choirs of the Elect. All trace of the joint, however, disappears precisely at the edges of the Scroll of Heaven in the center of the vault where the surface must have been re-worked to eliminate all evidence of the joint. Close inspection indicates that the plaster of the eastern half overlaps the western. Black paint appears under the overlapping of the joint. As might be expected, the pendentives were plastered in separate operations from those of the vault. In each case the plaster of the pendentives overlaps that in the larger surface of the main vault above them. The joints in the pendentives appear at different levels depending upon the size of the composition that was to be placed in each. In the north-eastern pendentive (fig. 27), it occurs well up in the field of the vault, along the edge of the white paint of the background of Paradise which marks the extent of that part of the composition. In contrast, the joint in the south-eastern pendentive (fig. 28) is quite low in the vault and follows a line of demarcation between the scene of the Rich Man Suffering the Torments of Hell and the Lake of Fire above it. In the two western pendentives (figs. 29 and 30) the joints are readily detected and occur immediately above the subjects that are represented in them. The evidence is, therefore, that the plastering for the paintings in the domical vault took into account the composition of separate elements that were to be painted in the vault as a whole.

In the lunettes at each side, the only joints in the plaster that are apparent occur some .30 m. above the cornice where a narrow and irregular strip of plaster was added across the base of the panels (see figures 33 and 38).

In the northern lunette (fig. 33), in addition to the loss of plaster caused by the cleavage in the wall near the eastern end, there are two major areas of lost plaster, both near the western edge. One of these, about .63 square meters in area, included, in its lower half, the heads and shoulders of a number of the Elect in the Entry into Paradise. Slightly less than half of this area occurs in the black of the background above the figures. The other,

somewhat more extensive than the first, is in the lower left corner of the lunette in which only the feet of two or three of the figures are lost. In the southern lunette (fig. 38), except for the loss of plaster above the central unit of the window, the only plaster that has perished is below the right hand unit of the window, an area that did not form part of the scenes in the lunette.

THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST (Figures 2, 3, and 4)

The subject of the composition in the domical vault and the supporting walls at the two sides, Ἡ δευτέρα τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ παρουσία, is inscribed at the center of the dome on two sides of the scroll of heaven (fig. 2). Although it is singularly appropriate that the elements of the theme that present "the sign of the Son of man in heaven" should be placed in a dome where the symmetry of the three dimensional form, directly above the head of the spectator, is well suited to the celestial aspect³ of the subject, and the pendentives to the non-celestial elements, it is remarkable that no other examples, truly paralleling the composition at the Kariye Camii, are known to have been painted.⁴ It is, in addition, one of the relatively few examples in Byzantine art of the periods up to and including the fourteenth century in which the subject, in all of its most essential components, is treated in so unified a manner.⁵ In most of the surviving examples, especially in fresco

³ See Matt. 24:29-31, 25:31-46; Mark 13:24-27; Dan. 7:13-14; Apocalypse 1:7, where the heavenly setting of Christ's coming is emphatic.

⁴ In view of the celestial connotations inherent in domes and domical structures, and so frequently expressed in their decoration (cf. E. B. Smith, *The Dome* [Princeton, 1950]; K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin*, 27[1945], pp. 1-27), it is remarkable that the subject was not more frequently depicted in domes. The only other example now extant in Byzantine art is the dome in the narthex of the church of the Panagia at Asinou, Cyprus, which is dated 1332-1333 (W. H. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and its Frescoes," *Archaeologia*, 83 [1933], pp. 332-345). While this too is a domical vault, the main part of the dome is cut off from the pendentives by a circular, painted border, thereby giving the effect of a dome on pendentives. Only three elements of the composition are actually in the dome and its pendentives: the Christ, who is shown as a bust-Pantocrator in a medallion heavily framed by a border; angels, the Virgin, and a seraph in a zone around the central medallion who are again represented as busts in medallions; and the twelve Apostles, three in each of the pendentives. Judging from the dome alone one might not immediately recognize that the subject is a Last Judgement. Other elements are scattered in surrounding parts of the structure: in superimposed panels in three of the supporting arches (two angels with scroll, choirs of the Elect, tortures of the damned); in the one of the two semi-domes that contains three panels (Earth, Sea, and Entry into Paradise); and in the upper zone of the entrance wall (*Etimasia*, Lake of Fire). This treatment, therefore, differs greatly from that of the Kariye Camii in that the composition is broken up and somewhat dispersed in framed panels, and does not exploit the possibilities of a dome as the setting for a heavenly apparition.

⁵ It is comparable in this respect to those twelfth-century representations in which the subject is composed in a series of integrated zones, or strips. Such a composition appears in monumental art at Torcello and more frequently in miniatures and panel paintings of the same period. See, for example, the illustrations for Matthew 25 and Mark 13, in *ms. gr. 74* of the

painting, the various elements of the great composition have been dispersed upon the walls, vaults, and piers in a series of separate units, as in the Russian examples of the twelfth century.⁶ While the composition is here adapted to a domical vault form, and is perhaps an innovation in that respect, the iconography has remained faithful to the traditions of the theme as exemplified in the earliest and most purely Byzantine versions that have come down to us.⁷

With the highly decorative motif of the flying angel rolling up the scroll of heaven as the central and highest point, the celestial setting is emphasized by a great circle of clouds that sweeps three-fourths of the way around the circumference of the vault (fig. 4). Each of these bears one of the traditional categories of the Elect. The circle is completed by the Etimasia and the Weighing of the Souls at the eastern axis and by the Fiery Stream and the Lake of Fire above the southeastern pendentive. The principal motif of Christ in Glory, accompanied by the Virgin, John the Baptist, the Twelve Apostles, angels and archangels, sweeps across the entire width of the vault in a slightly curved zone just below the summit in the eastern half (fig. 3). The composition is thus weighted in its eastern half, establishing the direction in which it is to be viewed and relating the subject to that of the Anastasis,⁸ in the vault of the apse to the east, with which it had sometimes been combined.⁹ The four pendentives, which frame the circular composition at the corners, are devoted to two of the traditional elements of the subject: the parable of Lazarus, Abraham, and the Rich Man¹⁰ in the northwestern, northeastern, and southeastern pendentives (fig. 2, upper left, lower left, and lower right), and, the Sea and Land Giving up their Dead in the southwestern pendentive (fig. 2, upper right).¹¹ The elements that

Gospels, folios 51^{vo} and 93^{vo} (Bibliothèque nationale, département des manuscrits, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, I, pls. 41 and 81), or, the two icons (XII c.) at the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai (G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Plates [Athens, 1956], pls. 150 and 151). Certain later, monumental examples, such as those on the walls of the refectories or narthexes in Mt. Athos (Lavra, Dionysiou, Dochiariou: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* [Paris, 1927], pls. 149; 210; 244-248) are unified compositions which have incorporated many iconographic innovations.

⁶ St. Cyril at Kiev; St. George at Staraja Ladoga; The Dormition and St. Demetrius at Vladimir; Spas-Neredica near Novgorod. See A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), p. 82.

⁷ Such as the illustration for Matthew 25 in Paris, *ms. gr. 74* (see *supra*, note 5), or the icon at Sinai, Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 150.

⁸ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10, fig. 63.

⁹ See, for example, Torcello and the Arena Chapel of Giotto where the Anastasis is depicted above the Last Judgement.

¹⁰ Luke 16:19-25.

¹¹ Apocalypse 20:13.

complete the composite subject of Christ's Second Coming are placed on the walls (lunettes) at the sides: the Entry of the Elect into Paradise at the north (fig. 2, left), and the Torments of the Damned at the southeast (fig. 2, lower right). This arrangement of the component elements has produced a composition which is as nearly integrated as the architectural setting would permit, and which conveys the impression that the entire eastern bay of the Parecclesion is enveloped by this single subject.

The Scroll of Heaven (Figure 5)

The motif of the angel in full flight who rolls back the scroll of heaven¹² in the center of the vault, as though to announce and reveal the drama of final judgement, is a singularly beautiful version and development of a theme that was usually included in the composition of The Second Coming.¹³ The scroll, beautifully formed into a spiral, like an Ionic volute, contains the sun, the moon, and the stars. The entire scroll is painted in both cool and warm grays of values that are much like those in the garments of Christ in the Anastasis in the apse to the east. The sun, a round disc containing the features of a face, is earth red of various values. The drawing is deep red, the hatching in red much lightened with white, and the pupils of the eyes in black. The rays of the sun are formed of thin strokes of red. The crescent moon is painted in yellow ochre, as are the points of the stars which give the effect of gold.

Like the flying angels in representations of the Ascension, the angel is depicted as a full-length figure with arms outstretched to support the scroll. A great train of drapery, fluttering off to the left, balances the legs at the right, and both parallel the widespread wings in an arrangement of parts that is well adapted to the circular form of the surrounding elements (fig. 4). The tunic with short open sleeves, visible at the angel's right shoulder, is basically the black of the background on which grays have been thinly applied for the middle tones and whites for the highlights, leaving untouched the black of the background in the darker areas and in the outlines of the garment and its folds. The effect is that of a blue garment though no blue pigment was actually used. The himation, which covers most of the

¹² Inspired, no doubt, by Apocalypse 6:14: "And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together." This is the scriptural source of the *titulus* inscribed on one of the icons of Sinai: ὁ ἄγγελος ἐλίσσων (sic) τὸν οὐρανόν (Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151). In the sixteenth-century fresco of the refectory at Lavra (Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 149) it is inscribed: ἐλίσσων τὸν οὐρανόν.

¹³ Elsewhere, however, its expressive potentialities remained relatively unexploited. In most instances this motif produces little illusion of the heavens, the scroll being usually a narrow strip, loosely rolled, and often strung out horizontally before a standing- not a flying-angel. One senses at the Kariye Camii that the selection of the vault as the position for the composition provided the challenge and inspiration for this unusual version.

figure, is painted in browns (perhaps an umber), mixed with black in some areas and seemingly with yellows in others. It is strongly highlighted with white. The upper parts of the wings are painted in deeper values of the colors used in the himation, while the colors of the under parts are precisely the same as the tunic.

Christ in Judgement upon the Throne of His Glory (Figures 3, 6–8)

Of supreme importance and prominence in the subject is the *parousia* itself: Christ, with all the holy angels, upon the throne of his glory,¹⁴ accompanied at each side by his apostles, also enthroned in judgement, as it had been promised them.¹⁵ Present also, as intercessors, are the Virgin and John the Baptist, who, with Christ, comprise a Deesis in the center of the composition. From before Christ's feet issues the fiery stream,¹⁶ which flows away to the lower right into the southeastern pendentive. Christ's words to those on his right hand are quoted in an inscription of four lines¹⁷ (fig. 14) to the left and below the mandorla:

[Δεύτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς] μου,
κλ[ηρο]νομήσατε τ(ῆν) ἡτοιμασμένη(ν)
ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ κατα —
βολῆς κόσμου.¹⁸

His words of condemnation to those on his left run parallel to the stream of fire at the right:

Πορεύεσ[θε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ] κατηραμένοι, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμ(έ)-
νον τῷ διαβόλῳ
κ(αὶ) τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.¹⁹

Within a circular mandorla²⁰ (fig. 6), Christ sits upon an arc, or rainbow, represented by a band of pink, .04 m. wide, which is preserved at the left.²¹ His feet rested upon a smaller arc, also in pink, which is visible to the right of the small portion of his foot that is still preserved at the bottom of

¹⁴ Matthew 25:31.

¹⁵ Matthew 19:28.

¹⁶ Dan. 7:10.

¹⁷ Most of the first line and parts of the second, were lost by the fracturing of the vault.

¹⁸ Matthew 25:34. "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

¹⁹ Matthew 25:41. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

²⁰ If not covered at its edges by the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist, the mandorla would measure .98 m. in width. Its present vertical dimension is 1.06 m., but by deducting the .08 m. of displacement in the structure (cf. *supra*, p. 238) it becomes certain that the mandorla was quite accurately circular.

²¹ A small fragment of it appears also at the far right along the edge of the break in the plaster.

the mandorla. The mandorla itself is composed of four concentric zones of blue, the darkest at the center and the lightest, which is almost white, at the outer edge.²²

Very little larger than the figures accompanying him, Christ (fig. 6) turns slightly to his right with wounded hands extended at each side to make the gestures of acceptance and rejection. His open right hand, palm outward, is relaxed and held at a higher level than his left, which, by contrast, shows the back of the hand with fingers, like talons, fiercely tensed and pointed downward. He is clad in golden chiton and himation which are painted in a reddish yellow for the middle tones. The drawing and the deep folds are in dark earth-red colors; the highlights in yellow ochre and gold leaf, the latter still extant in large measure on the shoulders and breast. The halo was, originally, solidly covered with gold leaf, and in the upper parts numerous small bits of it still adhere. The halo is bordered by a white line within which is a wider border of very deep red, used also for the lines of the cross of the nimbus. On the inscription at each side of the halo most of the gold leaf with which the letters were covered still adheres to its mordant.

Throughout the figure of Christ a system of lines was incised in the plaster to locate and roughly define the more intricate folds of the drapery. Indeed, throughout most of the painting of the Second Coming one clearly observes, here and there, the incised sketch, evidently done on wet plaster, for in a few places the edges of the grooves are raised.²³

The central unit of the *parousia*, the Deesis (fig. 6), is completed by the standing figures of the Mother of God and John the Baptist, at right and left of Christ. Both turn inward in three-quarter pose with bowed heads and hands held out before them in attitudes of entreaty. Both are drawn as rather slight figures.²⁴ The Virgin is dressed as usual in the enveloping maphorion over a tight-sleeved tunic. In color and value these garments are indistinguishable from those she wears in the painting in the bema (the Eleousa), below the cornice,²⁵ that is, a very deep blue-violet for the maphorion, and a blue under-dress. John the Baptist is depicted with much the same expression and features as he bears in the Anastasis.²⁶ In color, his garments are also similar to those in the Anastasis — a yellowish brown

²² Each of the three outer zones averages .07 m. in width.

²³ For other evidences of incised sketching, see "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 104 and p. 269.

²⁴ All three figures of the Deesis are rather weak. It is hard to credit all the paintings to a single master when one contrasts this part of the composition with others, or with the Anastasis.

²⁵ "Second Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 50 and p. 217 ff.

²⁶ "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 74, p. 271.

undergarment, but now with more yellow in the highlights, and a much darker yellowish brown mantle.

To left and right of the central group of the Deesis are the twelve Apostles (figs. 7 and 8), seated upon a *synthronon*, their books held open before them in judgment. St. Peter, at Christ's right, and St. Paul, at his left, occupy the positions of honor. Within each group of six the postures of the Apostles are arranged in an ordered rhythm of repeats and variations which avoids monotony while it assures compositional unity to each group. The first and last of each group, as though to mark them as anchor points, are turned sharply inward toward Christ and are much more nearly in profile than the others. The second and fourth figures, counting from the center outward, are seated very nearly frontally and turn their heads inward toward Christ. The third and fifth, with bodies turned moderately toward the center and torsos inclined strongly in that direction, turn their heads backward to look in the opposite direction at their immediate companions, as though in conversation with them. The third and fourth, and fifth and sixth, are thus arranged in pairs who turn to one another, while the first and second also constitute a pair with heads turned in a common direction toward the center.

With only one exception the chitons of all the Apostles were intended as blue garments, although blue pigment was sparingly used and in a few instances the effect of blue is achieved by grays and black. In the one exception, the third from the left in the group at the left (fig. 7), the chiton is red-violet in color, doubtless because this figure's himation was to be painted blue. In recording the colors of the himatia it will be convenient to list them in order, beginning at the far left and proceeding to the right: 1) red-violet; 2) brown with yellow ochre added for the brighter parts; 3) blue; 4) green; 5) red-violet; 6) brown and yellow, like no. 2; 7) red-violet; 8) green; 9) yellow; 10) red-violet; 11) yellow; 12) green.

Save for the strip of total loss in the group at the right, the state of preservation of the Apostles is good. Only two heads, those of the beardless Apostles at the two ends, are seriously impaired, while some are among the best preserved in the paintings of the Parecclesion. The open pages of their books are painted a light gray with darker gray lines to indicate the columns of writing. The edges of the books are red. The *synthronon* on which they sit is a simple bench with a back and podium, but without arms. It was painted in two principal values of yellow ochre, like most other pieces of furniture in the paintings of the Parecclesion, a lighter value for the horizontal planes, a slightly darker for the vertical. The latter color has tended to disintegrate, especially in the risers of the podium and the front of the

bench in the left half. Mouldings are indicated by dark reddish brown lines.

In addition to the Apostles, two Archangels hold open books. They stand, one on each side of the Deesis, separating the central personages from the Apostles. They are distinguished by their garments (*divitision*) of red, with wide collars, vertical strips down the front, arm bands, and cuffs of yellow in which pearls and dark red gems are set.

The attendant angels, who stand behind the throne, are tightly grouped in three ranks at the center behind the Deesis and more widely spaced, in a single row, behind the Apostles. They bear sceptres, studded at the ends with four pearls. As is true of the Apostles, they tend to be represented either in pairs who look toward one another, or, in pairs who face a common, inward direction.

The Choirs of the Elect (Figures 2, 4, 9-13)

In a zone forming three fourths of a circle (fig. 2), whose center is the scroll of heaven, is a series of four clouds in which six choirs of the Elect are shown in *proskynesis* or in standing postures, in reverence before the King of Heaven. Three of the clouds are arranged symmetrically in the western half of the vault (fig. 4). Two of these, at the north and south, are small and support only one Chorus. Between them, on the western end of the longitudinal axis, is a long cloud which contains three choirs. The fourth cloud, containing a single choir, is placed in the eastern half of the vault (fig. 3) below the northern group of enthroned Apostles. All of these choirs are identified by inscriptions above them. Beginning at the south (fig. 2, upper right) and proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction, the inscriptions read: *χορὸς ἱεραρχῶν*, *χορὸς ὁσίων*, *χορὸς γυναικῶν*, *χορὸς μαρτύρων*, *[χ]ορ[ὸς] ἀποστόλων*, *[χορὸς] προ[φ]ητῶν*.

While in Byzantine monumental painting the Choirs of the Elect normally constituted part of the fully developed composition of the Second Coming, there was always considerable latitude both in number and choice of the categories to be depicted.²⁷ In the earlier versions of the subject they are usually represented as standing full length upon common ground lines. It would appear that their presence in clouds, as at the Kariye Camii, is a late development which ultimately became rather common practice.²⁸

²⁷ It is interesting to note that one of the twelfth-century icons of Mt. Sinai (Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151) presents precisely the same six choirs that appear at the Kariye Camii, the only difference being that the *ὁσίοι* are inscribed *ἀσκηταί*.

²⁸ The Lavra Refectory, Mt. Athos (Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 149), for example, presents them in clouds in two zones of three each. The figures in the upper zone seem to be standing, but they are cut off at the knees by the lower zone of clouds in which the figures kneel. At Dochiariou (*ibid.*, pl. 248) the arrangement is the same, as it is also at Dionysiou (*ibid.*, pl. 210) where, however, there are seven groups.

The Chorus of Hierarchs at the south (fig. 9) was composed of about twenty-four figures attired in the vestments of bishops. Only three in the front rank reveal the more or less complete figure and garments; two in the second row show the torso, and bits of a few other vestments are visible elsewhere. Only the tops of the heads of most of the figures of the back rows are visible above those in front of them. All the Hierarchs are shown kneeling and facing toward the left in clockwise direction, as are all other figures in the choirs in the southern half of the semi-circle of clouds.

The first of the three bishops in the front rank, at the left, wears the *phainolion*, or chasuble, with a pattern formed of interlocking black crosses on the white of the garment. His *omophorion*, or collar, has two large red crosses, one on each shoulder. The central figure reverses the color arrangement for the two garments and the pattern of the chasuble is composed of crosses framed by four gammas. The third reverts to black pattern on white in the chasuble and red on white for the *omophorion*. The pattern of the chasuble is a variant of the cross within gammas. The wide stripes down the sides of the *sticharia*, or long tunics, visible from the knees down, coincide in color with the crosses on the *omophoria*.²⁹

The second chorus, that of the *Hosioi* (fig. 10), shares the long cloud on the axis at the west with two other Choirs. As nearly as can be seen in this poorly preserved group, all are dressed in monks' habits. The four figures in the front rank clearly wear the tunic, scapular, and mantle. Two of these have their turbans or hoods drawn over their heads, while the hoods of the other two hang down at the back of the neck. In this group as a whole about twenty heads, or parts of heads, can be counted. All kneel and face to the left, as do the Hierarchs.

The area of lost plaster and paint in the center of the cloud (figs. 10, 11) very nearly coincides with the Chorus of Holy Women who formed the third category of the Elect. All that now remains of the front rank are the lower parts of the garments (from the knees down) of the first figure at the left and a small part of the hem of the second figure's garment in portions that have been temporarily removed and do not appear in the illustrations. Parts of three figures from what was probably the second rank also remain (fig. 10). The first of these, at the left, wears a hood drawn over her head. On the front of the hood is what appears to be a cross, and under her arm is a rectangular object, possibly a book. This figure's garments are painted,

²⁹ In all these respects the vestments are very much like those of the Church Fathers who are represented in the apse. See "Second Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, pp. 211-216; figs. 45-49.

seemingly, in *terre verte*. The second in this rank wore a high crowned head-dress.³⁰ The traces of hair and drawing of the face are simply the remains of the cartoon, in black paint, while the drawing of the hat and the bit of garment that survives are painted in red. Of the third figure, only a small portion of the top of the head, covered by a mantle, still exists. An unintelligible jumble of parts of heads is all that exists of the figures in the back rows. Although the chorus of women is on the longitudinal axis and is the central chorus of three sharing the same cloud, the figures are turned, like the monks and bishops, to face left.

Beginning with the Chorus of Martyrs (fig. 11), the sense of movement changes to a counter-clockwise direction and all the remaining choirs are faced toward the right. There are, however, among the martyrs, some who stand upright and face frontally. Although most of the original plaster on which this group was painted still exists, there are heavy losses of surface and no heads are at all reasonably well preserved. At the right there are some traces of underpainting of heads as well as some incised drawing. At the left are two figures who face right to start the sense of movement toward the right in the right hand side of the vault. These two martyrs are in a half-kneeling posture — a crouch that suggests walking — their hands extended before them. The one in front was dressed in red garments which must have been richly ornamented, for traces of brocade, in imitation of gold, occur at the cuffs and hem. The figure behind, whose contour parallels that of the figure in the front rank, wears black and white garments. To the right of these two is one who stands, frontally posed, attired in a blue tunic and a red outer garment, both garments decorated with yellow brocades. This figure partly overlaps another, to the right, who also stands. He is dressed in green with golden brocades, and, in turn, partially overlaps another martyr who is turned toward the right, dressed in red garments. Finally, at the far right, in the front rank, is a martyr who seems to be walking toward the right with hands extended before him. He wears a red mantle with gold brocades, a violet undergarment and blue sleeves. Only small bits of garments appear here and there in the background between these figures of the front ranks.

The last cloud at the right in the western half bears the Chorus of Apostles (fig. 12) whose number cannot be counted because of extensive and par-

³⁰ Either a crown, or, possibly, a type of headdress similar to that of the Kyra of the Mougoulion (Melane, the nun) in the great mosaic of the Deesis in the inner narthex of the Kariye Camii. See, *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, Princeton (1955), pl. 35, fig. 5.

ticularly severe loss of surface paint in the area of the heads, especially in the left half. The lower portion of the cloud and the lower extremities of the figures at the left fall within an area of lost plaster which has been filled with new plaster and toned a neutral gray in the area of the cloud, and black in that of the background. In the front rank are three figures more or less completely exposed to view. The one at the left is clad entirely in violet; his head is turned sharply upward. The central figure wears a blue chiton over a yellow himation, while the figure at the right, in relatively good state of preservation, wears a green chiton. An exception in this group, his head is relatively well preserved, and depicts a youthful, beardless man.

Filling the angle between the enthroned Apostles at the left and the northeastern pendentive, is the Chorus of Prophets (fig. 13). The inscription, though incompletely preserved, is clear regarding identification. In the front rank are four figures which are rather well preserved. All are in attitudes of *proskynesis* with hands extended. The figure at the far left, cut in two parts by the great fissure in the vault and separated by the resulting displacement, wears garments of yellowish green in which the drawing and the folds are executed in earth reds. The chiton of the second figure is reddish violet, while that of the third is a light, very cool, green with drawing in darker values of the same color. The fourth prophet, at the far right, is a repetition, in color, of the second. Between these last two figures is one in the second rank who is clad in dark blue. He wears a crown and his features are those typical of David. He overlaps another, to the right, who is also crowned and whose garments are painted red, possibly a representation of Solomon. Between the third prophet of the front rank and David is a face which is reasonably well-preserved. All other heads are merely contours, retaining little more than cartoon underpainting.

The Etimasia (Figure 14)

On the eastern axis of the vault, immediately below the mandorla of Christ, is the preparation of the throne — the *Etimasia*³¹ — another of the elements essential to a complete representation of the Second Coming. The painting in this area has suffered considerable loss of surface though only relatively minor damage in the plaster itself. It is well enough preserved, however, to have left a record of all important details.

³¹ The term, with reference to its use in illustrations of the Second Coming, probably derives from Psalm 88(89):14, "Justice and judgement are the habitation of thy throne" (*ἐτοιμασία τοῦ θρόνου σου*). Applicable also is Psalm 102(103):19, "The Lord hath prepared his throne in the heavens (*ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡτοίμασε τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ*) and his kingdom ruleth over all."

The throne itself, and its footstool, are simple rectangular blocks, unadorned in any way. They are painted in yellow ochre, like all other representations of furniture in the chapel, in three values. The upper planes are the lightest, the frontal planes medium, and the receding planes at the right the darkest. All edges were drawn in dark red lines bordered on one side by narrow white lines. On the seat of the throne is a piece of black drapery that hangs in folds down the front. On it is placed the Book of the Gospels whose cover is yellow ochre and whose front and left edges, as though seen from the left, are painted red. Behind the throne are displayed the instruments of Christ's passion: a double-armed cross, painted dark brown and barely distinguishable against the black background; the crown of thorns looped around the upper arms of the cross; the spear at the right whose metal head is picked out with white; and, at the left, the sponge, tinged with red, attached to a hook at the end of a pole.

At the back corners of the throne, partly concealed by it, are two cherubim, guardians of the throne. The wings are reddish brown, and the drawing in deep red lines.

Adam and Eve are depicted in *proskynesis*, with covered hands, before the throne. Adam, at the left, is dressed in yellow garments, Eve in a garment of red that covers her entire body and head.

The Weighing and Condemnation of Souls (Figures 15–17)

Below the throne, in the sharply curved rise of the vault above the crown of the eastern arch, is the scene in which the records of the souls are weighed in the balance (fig. 15). A balance scale hangs suspended from the foot of the throne above the head of a single nude soul who stands resignedly, with arms folded, awaiting judgement. At the left are two angels whose arms are filled with bundles of scrolls — the records of the souls about to be judged. Below the right-hand balance, piled high with the evil records, is a black devil, of whom very little more than the legs now remain, who attempts to add weight to his side by pulling the balance downward with a hooked stick. In the balance at the left, there are now no traces of objects which could account for the seemingly greater weight on that side. This area, however, had suffered considerable loss of surface paint. Symmetry of composition is established by a group of about nine nude souls (figs. 15, 16) who stand huddled together at the right. These seem to be souls who are already found wanting and are condemned, for around the neck of the figure at the right is the rope which binds together the necks of a series of four other souls, still further to the right (fig. 17), who are being

conducted by black devils into the lake of fire. The devil who leads the string of captive souls has entered into the fire.

The first of the angels, at the left (fig. 15), wears a red-violet himation over a blue chiton; the second, behind the first, a yellow himation, also over a blue chiton. The nude souls are painted in a warm flesh color, reddish yellow, with much of the drawing in red and with hatching for the highlights in white. The effect is that of monochromatic painting. What remains now of the devils is little more than sketches deeply incised in the plaster in very expressive and energetic strokes. Here and there a few brush strokes of a thin white paint indicate that originally they had been more completely detailed in paint than they are now.

The Fiery Stream and the Lake of Fire (Figures 2, 3, 18, 19)

The fiery stream that issues from before the feet of Christ ³² soon widens into a lake of fire ³³ immediately above, and descending into, the southeastern pendentive (figs. 2, 3, lower right). The red paint of the narrow stream, up to the point where it becomes a lake, is relatively well preserved, even retaining details of the tongues of flame (see figure 14, upper right). The main body of fire (fig. 18), however, is so seriously impaired by loss of surface paint that very little now remains of the large number of figures, painted over the red, once depicted amidst the flames.

Some traces of figures, mostly heads, are visible in a zone within the fire across the upper edge, at the far right along the border of the southern arch, and in the lower left. At the upper left in Figure 18, at the point where the stream widens out to its fullest extent, dim traces of an angel can be discerned.³⁴ This, apparently, was one of the principal figures within the fire and was painted at full length, or very nearly so. In size it compared closely to that of the two angels under the *Etimasia*, and was, thus, among the largest of the figures actually in the flames. Where any of the painted surface remains, it is treated as a monochromatic painting in red with highlights in white. All that can be seen is dark red drawing on the lighter red underpainting of the fire. Some flecks of white highlights still exist in the areas of the head, arm, and waist. The head was in three-quarter view, facing downward and to the right. His straight right arm was raised high

³² 'Ο ποταμός πυρός, Daniel 7:10. In one of the twelfth-century icons of Mt. Sinai (Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pl. 151) it is so inscribed.

³³ Apoc. 20:15, "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." See also, Apoc. 20:10.

³⁴ It is possible that a second angel had been painted above and to the left where unidentifiable traces of painting exist.

behind his head and probably held a lance, a trace of which is dimly discernible, which was directed downward and to the right at some figure, now lost, or, possibly, at a monstrous beast in the bottom center of the body of flame.

Somewhat further to the right parts of two heads, one above the other, can be dimly seen. The forehead, eyes, and nose of the upper one peer out frontally. The headdress is lost, but its line of juncture with the forehead can be traced. Still further to the right is the face of a beardless youth, or a woman. This head faces toward the left, the contours of the face and neck clearly visible, as well as part of the drapery of the head-covering which falls at the right side. A short distance to the right is the upper part of another head covered by a head cloth, and above it a head which was covered by a white, round topped hat. At the upper right corner of the sea of flame are the remains of a tight group of heads, one of which wears a high, white hat, rounded on top, and has a long gray beard and moustache. At least six others of this group are crowded together to the right; three of them wear black headdresses which suggest the hoods of monks. In the only reasonably well-preserved portion of the sea of fire, at the far right along the border that separates the pendentive from the southern lunette, is a bust of an old man who holds his right hand over his mouth (fig. 20). He is dressed in red-violet garments which are heavily highlighted in white. On his head is a turban-like headdress of white, badly flaked, with bindings of black. Behind him is an area where the tongues of fire are still well preserved. All the faces are painted in red of much the same shade as the flames, and drawn with darker red, highlighted with white; black is used only for the pupils of the eyes.

In the lower left part of the sea of flames, immediately to the left of the devil who leads the souls into the fire (fig. 17), is the bust of a man who wears a sharply pointed hat. Another (fig. 19), similar to him and more clearly visible, is found to the right of the devil. He overlaps still another of the same type, further to the right, of whom very little remains. To the right of these figures, half way across the bottom of the Lake of Fire, are the traces of the monstrous beast that is usually represented amidst the flames in other examples of the Last Judgment. Only its front quarters, which face toward the left, are at all visible. Although most of its head is lost, it seems to have had a sharply pointed beak, or lower jaw, long, white whiskers, and paws like those of a lion. The beast was painted in browns and yellows, with black drawing in the underpainting. In the area immediately above and just over the back are some traces of black surface paint indicating that the monster once supported a black figure, in all probability similar to the black

figure found on the backs of such monsters in other Last Judgements.³⁵

Without much doubt, the Lake of Fire and the figures within it, were quite closely similar to those in the mosaic at Torcello. At least one of the two angels was present at the left holding a long spear, or lance thrust diagonally downward to the right. Some of the heads, as at Torcello, are doubtless those of monks and clergy. Both contained a monster on whose back is seated a large black figure, and at the far right in both there are heads covered by turbans. Again, the Kariye Camii fresco of the Second Coming reveals closer iconographical relationships to the earlier, rather than later, compositions of the subject.

Above the Lake of Fire is a group of half-length figures of the cursed who are not yet completely submerged in the flames (fig. 18). Traces of the tongues of flame can be seen consuming the lower edges of their garments. The right half of this group is very poorly preserved and very few details of the heads, other than traces of under sketching, can be seen. The left half, however, is in relatively good condition, and it can be seen here that the figures are predominantly old, bearded men with scarfs worn over the heads and shoulders. The figure at the far left wears a green mantle with a red scarf, the second, a red-violet mantle and a yellow scarf, the third, a green scarf, and the fourth a red scarf knotted at the neck over what seems to have been a yellow mantle. The youth, who stands to the right with his right hand held over his mouth, wears a blue garment, while the old man with high domed brow, whose features are largely effaced, wears a red-violet scarf over what seems to have been a green mantle. Next, comes an old man whose features are almost entirely lost. He seems to have worn a green scarf over a red-violet mantle. A red garment is visible between him and the last figure at the far right who wore a violet scarf over what is now a grayish colored mantle. Behind these figures of the front rank are parts of many heads and faces.

The Torments of the Damned (Figures 20–22; 36; 38)

In the eastern half of the southern lunette, immediately to the right of the pendentive that contains the Sea of Fire, is a series of four panels which depict the sufferings of the damned. Figure 36 illustrates the condition of the area before cleaning and figures 20 and 38 after the removal of thick layers of whitewash and other obscuring materials.

³⁵ Torcello (C. Lorenzetti, *Torcello, la sua storia, i suoi monumenti* [Venice, 1939], p. 56); Paris, ms. gr. 74 (*op. cit.*, fig. 41); one of the icons at Mt. Sinai (*op. cit.*, pl. 151); etc. It is impossible to say whether or not this figure (sometimes thought to represent Lucifer, but more probably Hades) held on his lap the figure of an infant (sometimes called the Anti-Christ), as is usually the case.

The panels are arranged in checker-board fashion, in two zones, without borders of any kind between them, and depend upon their contrasting colors and the usual framing of the architectural elements to establish their forms and limits. It is clear that they were intended to be rectangular in shape and that only the curve of the lunette along one side prevents the two panels at the left from becoming true rectangles. All four are monochrome paintings which depict full length, standing, nude figures in tightly crowded groups. The figures are drawn in a great variety of attitudes as they writhe and twist in torments of suffering.

The panel at the left in the upper zone, which is almost completely effaced, was painted in yellow with some highlighting of the figures in white. A few legs can still be seen in the lower corners and other parts of human anatomy can be picked out elsewhere. The panel to the right in the upper zone is painted entirely in black without any traces of highlighting. It is a rather carefully executed brush drawing in deep black lines upon the lighter black of the background and achieves some effect of modelling by shaded areas of hatching. The heads of these figures are partially effaced, but otherwise the painting is in excellent state of preservation, as are the two in the lower zone. The panel to the left in the lower zone is somewhat larger than the others and is executed in the same technique as the preceding one diagonally above it; that is, as a brush drawing in deep black on a lighter background (figs. 20, 21). A mass of worms, represented by squiggles in white paint, creep and crawl over the figures and the ground at their feet. The fourth panel, at the lower right, is painted in very hot colors consisting of various values of a slightly yellowish red, hotter than the red used in the lake of fire or in the red borders that frame the architectural elements. The figures are strongly drawn in deep red lines, but here they are more highly modelled than those in the black quadrants, and their muscular structures are emphasized.

In the absence of *tituli*, the identifications of the subjects of these panels can be made from a comparison with other paintings of a similar nature in other monuments where they are accompanied by inscriptions. Together the four panels comprise an element that usually appears in the more typically Byzantine compositions of the Second Coming from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onward. They frequently appear, as in the Kariye Camii, in a series of isolated, rectangular (sometimes round-headed), panels in close proximity to the Lake of Fire, and near the lower right corner of the composition. Often included with them, as part of the series, but sometimes set a little apart, is the representation of the Rich Man, who is also present in the Kariye Camii frescoes in the lowest point of the pendentive im-

mediately to the left (see below). The majority of the early examples, however, merely depict heads or skulls in small square panels, usually in two zones, although half- and full-length figures are sometimes substituted. In very few instances, however, has there been such a display of anatomical interest, or has such prominence been given to the subject, as at the Kariye Camii.

Among the paintings in which these subjects are identified by their inscriptions are the two icons of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.³⁶ Each contains six small panels in the lower right, one of which is devoted to the representation of the Rich man. In one of these icons,³⁷ the other five panels depict skulls or heads which are inscribed as follows: ³⁸ "the worm that sleepeth not"³⁹ (ὁ σκώληξ ὁ ἀκοίμητος); "the gnashing of teeth"⁴⁰ (ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων); "the unquenchable fire"⁴¹ (τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον); "the outer darkness"⁴² (τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον); and one which refers to the fire but which could not otherwise be identified. The second of the two icons⁴³ presents "the unquenchable fire," "Tartarus," "the gnashing of teeth," "the worm that sleepeth not," and "the outer darkness."

Among other pertinent examples are those at Torcello;⁴⁴ the two miniatures of the Second Coming in the manuscript of the Four Gospels, Paris, Gr. 74;⁴⁵ the frescoes in the Church of the Apostles at Amari, Crete;⁴⁶ the

³⁶ Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pls. 150, 151.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 150.

³⁸ The readings are given here in corrected spellings and not in their abbreviated forms. The author is indebted to Professor K. Weitzmann for his kindness in supplying transcriptions.

³⁹ Mark 9:44, 46, 48.

⁴⁰ Matthew 8:12.

⁴¹ Mark 9:44, 46, 48.

⁴² Matthew 8:12.

⁴³ *Loc. cit.*, pl. 151.

⁴⁴ G. Lorenzetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 55. These six uninscribed panels, in two zones, in the lower right corner of the great mosaic of the Last Judgement, bear a close relation to the Mt. Sinai icons and other examples. The three panels of the upper one of the two zones contains full-length figures, one of which depicts the Rich Man. The "sleepless worm" is in the lower left panel (skulls with worms creeping into the eye sockets), and, perhaps, "the unquenchable fire" (heads amidst tongues of flame) is in the second. The third consists of skulls and various disjointed parts of human figures.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* In the illustration for Matthew 25:31 ff. (pl. 41), there are again six panels (uninscribed) in two zones in the lower right corner. The first two represent groups of nude half-figures, the others heads and skulls. The panel at the lower right depicts skulls and worms. The somewhat more condensed version in illustration of Mark 13:26, 27 (pl. 81), has only three panels, the first depicting three-quarter length nude figures, the other two, skulls.

⁴⁶ G. Gerola, "Micene e Bisanzio," *Felix Ravenna* (1931), p. 105. These examples are carefully inscribed. Some, at least, are square panels containing heads, and the series as a whole closely parallels, in subjects chosen, those of the two icons of Mt. Sinai.

fourteenth-century frescoes of the narthex of the Church of the Panagia at Asinou, Cyprus;⁴⁷ the Serbian church at Dečani;⁴⁸ and the refectory of the Grand Lavra and the church of the Monastery of Dochiariou, Mt. Athos.⁴⁹

Comparison with these identifiable examples makes it evident that the three preserved panels at the Kariye Camii should be identified as: "the outer darkness" (upper right), "the worm that sleepeth not" (lower left), and "the unquenchable fire" (lower right).⁵⁰

The Angel Carrying Lazarus to Abraham; Abraham with Lazarus and other Souls in Paradise; The Rich Man Suffering the Torments of Hell (Figures 23, 24, 26; 27, 28, 30)

The paintings in three of the pendentives (NW, NE, and SE) depict the parable of the beggar Lazarus, Abraham, and the Rich Man.⁵¹ It is a subject that usually finds its place, in whole or in part, in compositions of the Second Coming.⁵² The condition of these three pendentives, before their cleaning and repair, is illustrated in Figures 23, 24, and 26, while their appearance after cleaning is illustrated in Figures 27, 28, and 30.

The painting in the northwestern pendentive (fig. 30) depicts an angel transporting the soul of Lazarus. The angel, with wide-spread wings, stoops slightly forward and rests his right hand on the head of the nude soul of Lazarus. The left arm of the angel was raised toward the right, palm

⁴⁷ W. H. Buckler, *op. cit.*, p. 339. In the western half of the soffit of the south arch are four square panels containing faces. Represented are: "the worm that sleepeth not," "the gnashing of teeth," "Tartarus," and "the outer darkness." The latter is simply a plain black panel with no figures. The eastern half of the same arch presents a series of nude sinners, of various categories, tied to stakes above fire and attacked by serpents. This element, absent in the major examples of earlier representations of the Second Coming, is found frequently, especially from the fourteenth century onward, but is absent at the Kariye Camii.

⁴⁸ V. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Dečani*, Album (Belgrade, 1941), pls. 279, 280. The paintings of the Torments of the Damned have some affinities with the somewhat earlier painting of the Kariye Camii. The "outer darkness" (pl. 279) and "the worm that sleepeth not" (pl. 280), with *tituli* in Old Slavonic, present full-length figures, but they are highly modelled and stand in strong contrast to the black of the background; most of the figures wear loin cloths or some other form of drapery, and all are frontally posed and lacking in the tortured quality of the drawings at the Kariye Camii.

⁴⁹ Millet, *op. cit.*, pl. 149. At the Lavra the torments are mixed with an elaborate series of categories of sinners. In the lower register of the right wall, at the corner of the room, is a panel on which only worms (no figures) seem to be drawn (inscribed). Further to the right is a black panel on which nothing is painted, inscribed as the "outer darkness." Next to it is "the gnashing of teeth." Similar mixing of the torments with the sinners occurs also at Dochiariou (pl. 247).

⁵⁰ The consistency with which "the gnashing of teeth" occurs in the series in other monuments makes it likely that this was the subject of the badly effaced panel at the upper left.

⁵¹ Luke 16:19-26.

⁵² The scene of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, in compositions of the Second Coming, serves as an element in the Paradise scene while at the same time acting as a point of reference for the scene of the Rich Man in Hell which is placed in the opposite side of the composition.

upward, as though in a gesture of offering, and his head is tilted back. The soul of Lazarus stands rigidly vertical with hands extended in supplication. Both figures are placed in a rolling landscape, facing to the right, with gaze directed toward Abraham in the pendentive at the opposite side of the arch.

The angel's tunic is exposed in the shoulder and sleeve at the right. Its color was light blue with white highlights and yellowish brown shadows. On the shoulder is a brown *clavus*. The himation is in yellowish browns, yellow, and white. The flesh color in the body of Lazarus is pink in various values.

The painting in the northeastern pendentive (fig. 27), representing Abraham in Paradise with Lazarus at his bosom and other souls grouped about, is, strictly speaking, a continuation of the scene of the Entry of the Elect into Paradise that fills the lunette immediately to the left. However, since the preceding scene of the Angel and Lazarus, and, as will be seen, the scene of the Rich Man in the pendentive at the other side of the eastern transverse arch, bear relation to Abraham, the paintings in all three pendentives also form a group in their own right.

The background of the pendentive, like that of Paradise in the scene at the left, was originally painted white but has now become a yellowish gray. Abraham is seated on a throne in the midst of trees and plants, his feet resting on a foot stool. His head is frontally posed but the rest of the figure turns somewhat to the right. His left hand is extended, his right holds the small figure of Lazarus the beggar on his lap. The latter, represented as a young child in finest attire, sits frontally, his right hand clutching a sprig of a plant, his left hand held up with palm outward. A compact group of standing souls, also represented as young children in short tunics, is gathered closely around the throne.

Abraham is clad in a blue chiton which is visible over his left shoulder and arm and in a narrow strip at the hem. Over the shoulder of the garment is a deep blue-violet *clavus*. The himation is painted blue-violet with strong highlights of white. He sits on a red cushion visible only at the left. The throne and foot stool have yellow top surfaces and red vertical faces. The children are all dressed in short tunics with small neck openings and long, loose sleeves. The tunics are decorated at the collars and hems with bands in imitation of gold brocade. The bodies of their tunics, gathered at the waists by girdles, are rendered in light grays in the highlights and darker grays in the shaded areas and deep folds. The stuff of the tunics bears a pattern of tiny blue and red fleurs-de-lis, which is supplemented in the garments of the figures to the left by clusters of three red dots. The heads of these charming little figures are among the best preserved in the frescoes of the Kariye Camii.

In the southeastern pendentive, separated from Abraham and Lazarus by the span of the eastern transverse arch, is the scene of the Rich Man Suffering the Torments of Hell (fig. 28). The relation between these two scenes, in their architectural settings, is particularly appropriate, for the scenes illustrate, quite literally, the Rich Man who "seeth Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom"⁵³ as though separated by an impassable chasm. The nude rich man, in a seated posture in the midst of swirling flames, turns to the left to face toward Abraham. He raises his right hand to his mouth as he beseeches Abraham to send Lazarus to cool his tongue.⁵⁴ The left arm is stretched across his well-filled stomach, as if in allusion to his daily sumptuous fare. Filling the sharp triangle at the very bottom of the pendentive are two money bags and, spilled out at the rich man's feet, a large number of golden coins.

While the flames surrounding the rich man come in direct contact with those of the lake of fire, the two are quite separate iconographic elements of the composition and are distinct in both color and form. The line of demarcation between them is clearly marked. The tongues of flame compose themselves into an independent conical mass. The red of the flames is bluer than those of the lake. The rich man is painted almost monochromatically in browns laid over the red of the fire, so that, in places where the brown paint is thin or has been lost, the red paint shows through. The head, neck, and right hand have lost most of their surface details, but their outline and general configuration are still distinct. The two money bags, tied with thongs around the necks, are painted in browns, yellows, and white; the large gold coins in yellow ochre.

The Land and Sea Giving up their Dead (Figures 25, 29)

The fourth pendentive, at the southwest (fig. 29),⁵⁵ in illustration of Apocalypse 20:13, depicts two angels blowing trumpets as the land and the sea give up their dead. Across the center of the painting is the jagged shore line dividing the land above from the sea below. The land rises in a hill at the top center, and at the sides half-length figures of flying angels emphasize the symmetry of the composition. Relieved against the hilly background are three compact groups of dead who are being raised. The group at the left, hardly distinguishable because of extensive loss of surface paint, rise out of

⁵³ Luke 16:23.

⁵⁴ Luke 16:24.

⁵⁵ Work in this pendentive had not yet been completed at the end of the season of 1956. Some areas of painted plaster in the right side had been removed, in preparation for the reconstruction of the arch, when the photograph reproduced as fig. 29 was taken, and subsequently some additional portions were removed. These are to be replaced in 1957. However, the painting that is shown *in situ* in fig. 29 is to be regarded as finished work.

the ground, while the other two groups at the right are standing erect in two sarcophagi. The best-preserved is the group at the right.

The angel at the left, who blows a trumpet commanding the fish of the sea to disgorge their dead, wears a blue chiton under a red-violet himation. The chiton of the angel at the right was also blue and the himation, of which little now remains, seems to have been yellow. This angel commands the dead on the land to arise. Some of these dead are shrouded and bound, while others seem to wear tunics, some with hoods over the backs of their heads. Those who are not bound extend their hands before them. They are all painted in greenish yellow, perhaps *terre verte*, with drawing in brush strokes of brown, and highlights of white. The sarcophagi are painted in red-violet as they were in the Anastasis.

In the center of the sea is a dolphin-like fish, the largest represented, from whose mouth issues the torso of a body. The belly of this fish is lavender and white, his back yellow and brown. On his back he carries a figure whose right hand is raised and whose body is bare, although around the waist there seems to be some drapery. The head of this figure appears to have had two horns. To the left of this largest fish, and slightly above, are two smaller fish. The one at the far left is painted with a pink belly and a brown back. A human head issues from his mouth. The other fish, rather badly effaced, disgorges a foot. Above the tail of the large fish, to the far right, a fish of another type, though again with pink belly and brown back, gives up a human hand. Below the largest fish is a long slender one with a long, pointed nose. In its mouth is a foot. In the lowest part of the pendentive, in its re-entrant angle, are three more fish, one on the south, or left, face, and two on the west face. The one at the left has a head in its mouth; the two at the right, respectively, a foot and a head.

The Entry of the Elect into Paradise (Figures 31–35)

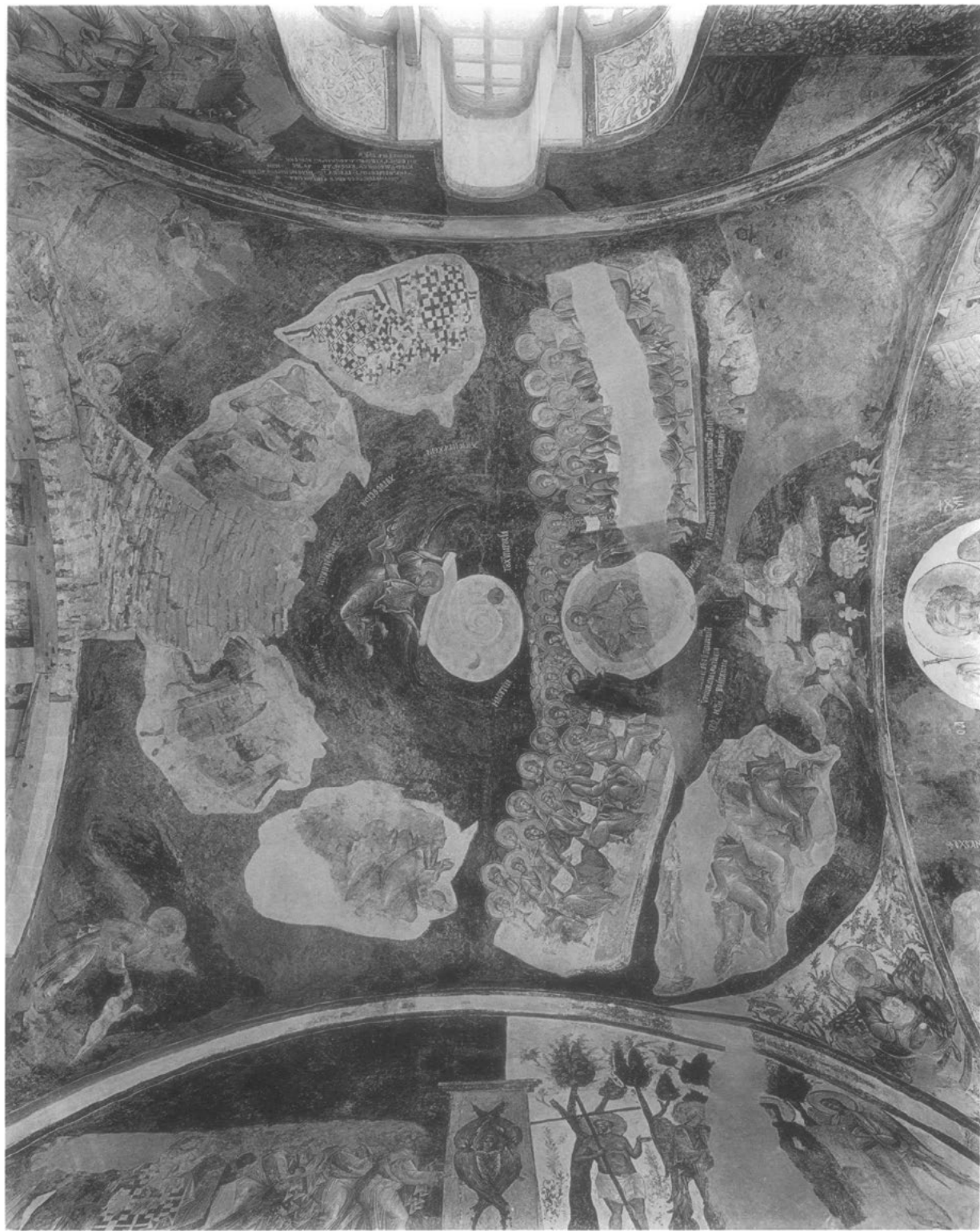
The northern lunette of the eastern bay is the only one of the four in the Parecclesion that was not penetrated by windows or arches of any kind, and thus constituted an uninterrupted field for a single painting.⁵⁶ The subject depicted is the Entry of the Elect into Paradise, the final theme in the great composition of the Second Coming. That it was regarded by the painters as an integral part of the Second Coming is evident from the absence of an inscribed *titulus*.⁵⁷ The condition of the lunette and its painting, before

⁵⁶ It measures 4.74 m. in breadth at the level of the cornice, and 2.50 m. in height from the cornice to the top of the arch. Its original breadth, before it was shattered and displaced by an earthquake (see *supra*, p. 238), was .08 m. less.

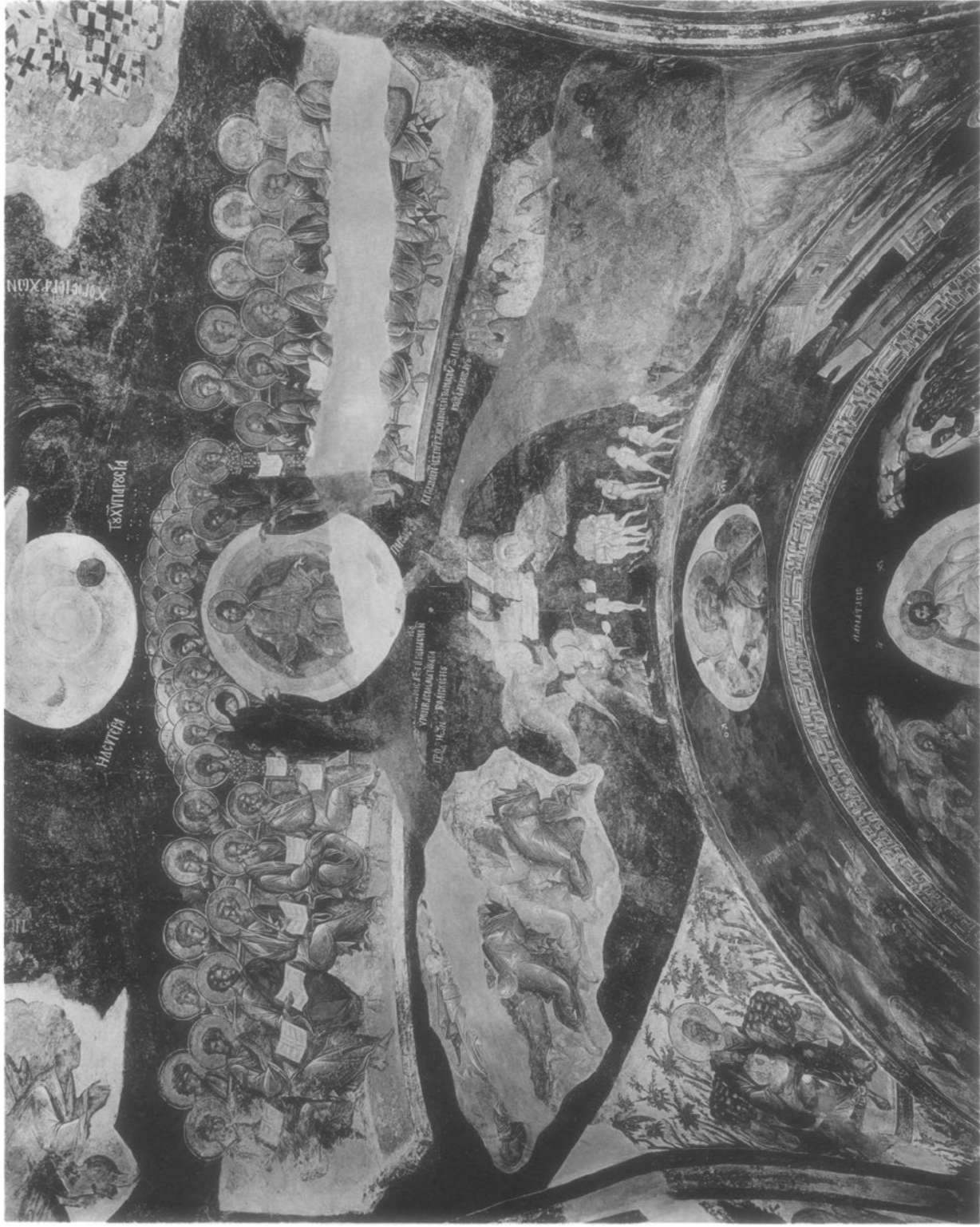
⁵⁷ Frequently, in other examples of the Second Coming, the subject of each theme is carefully inscribed. The *titulus* at the summit of the dome at the Kariye Camii, however,



1. Kariye Camii. The Parecclesion. Vaults of East Bay. Before cleaning



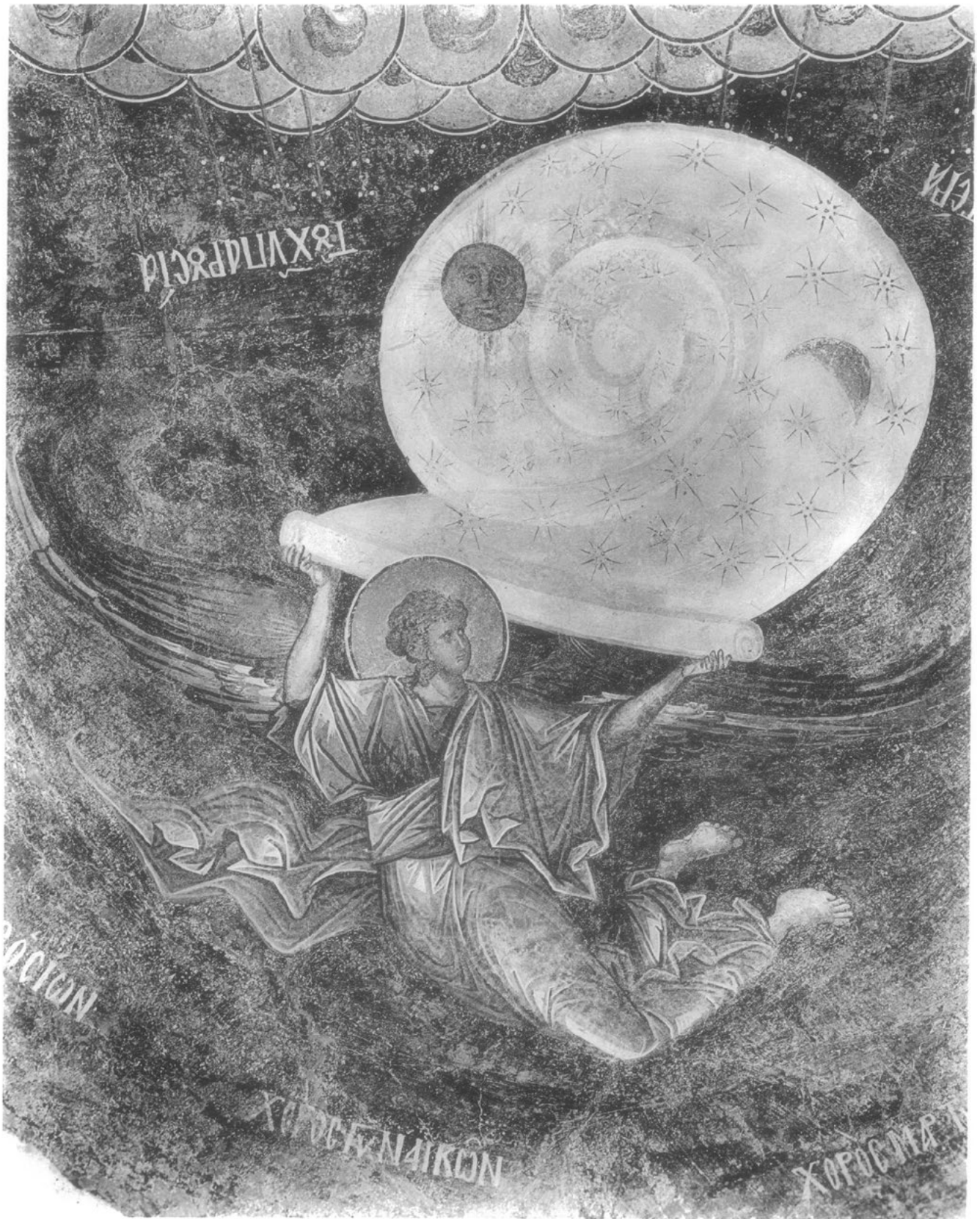
2. Vaults of East Bay. The Second Coming of Christ. After cleaning



3. The Second Coming of Christ. East Half



4. The Second Coming of Christ. West Half



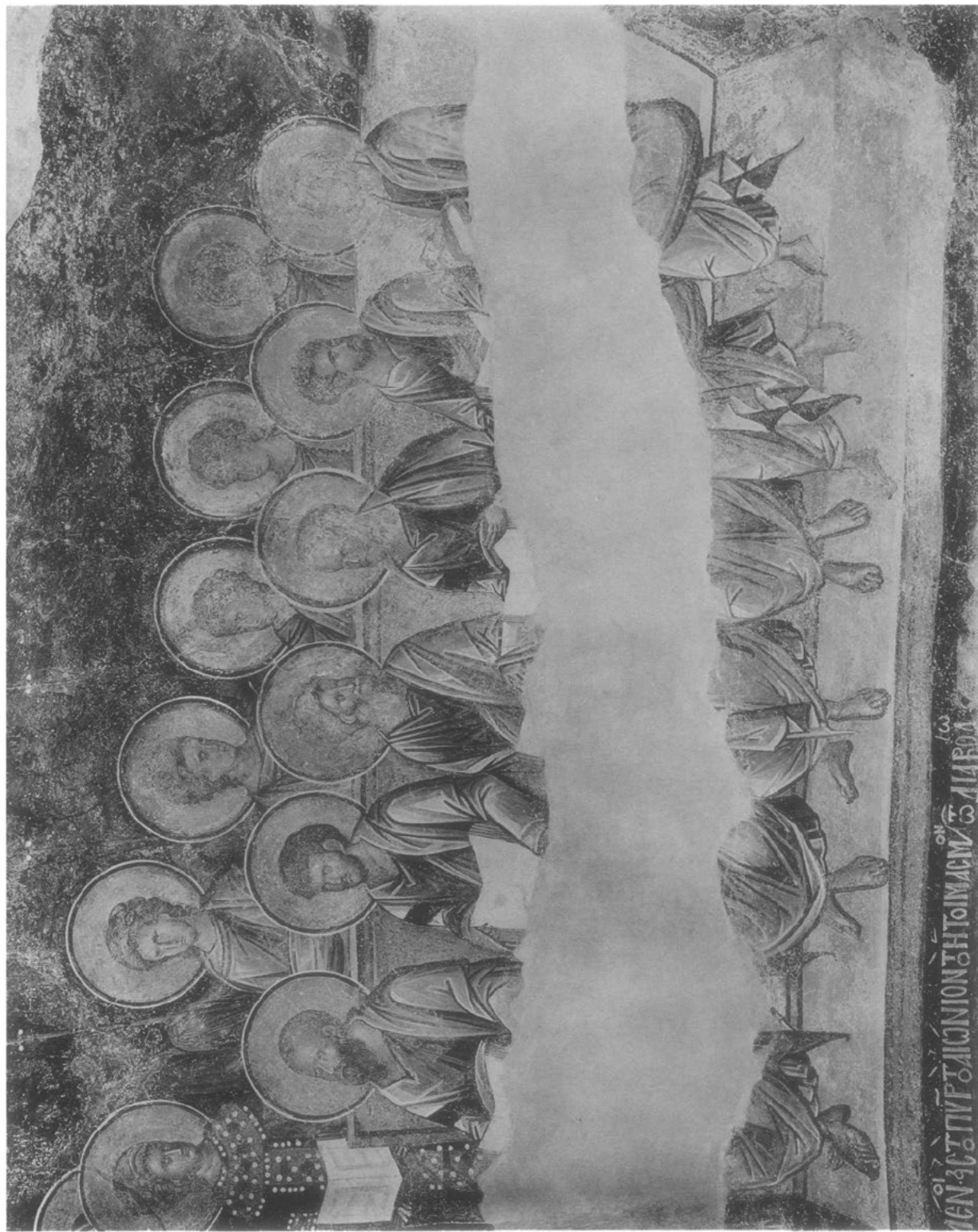
5. The Scroll of Heaven



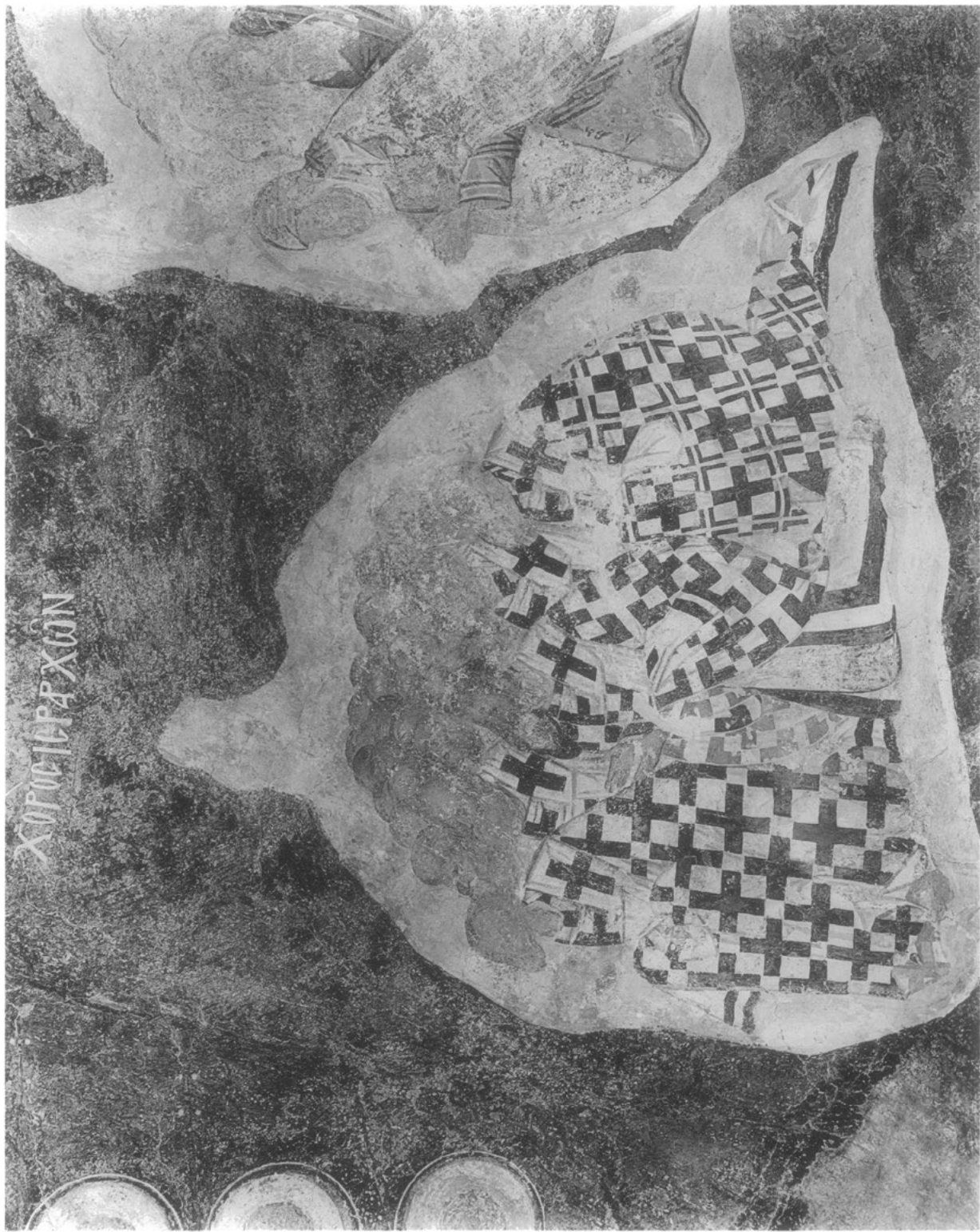
6. The Deesis



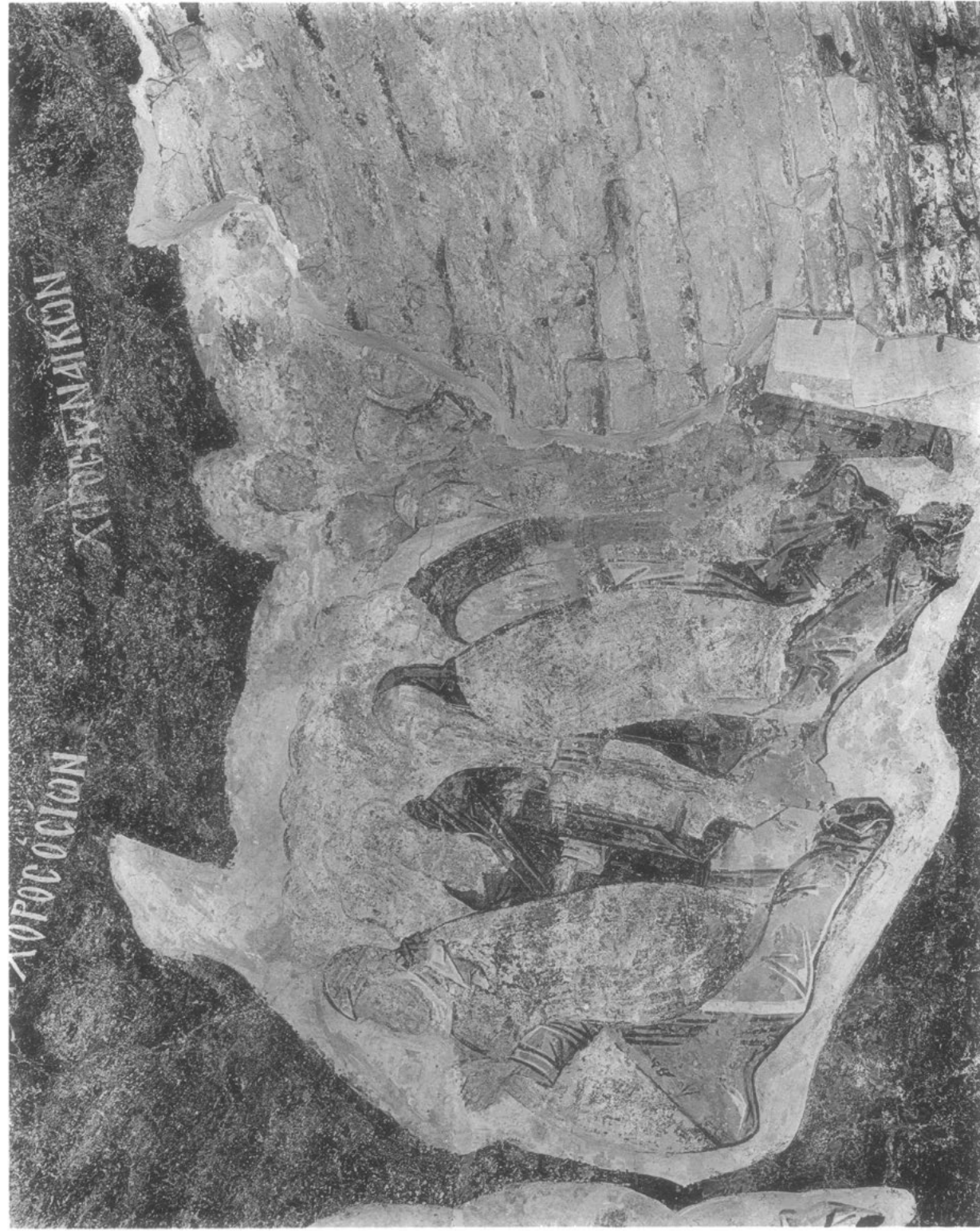
7. Apostles at left



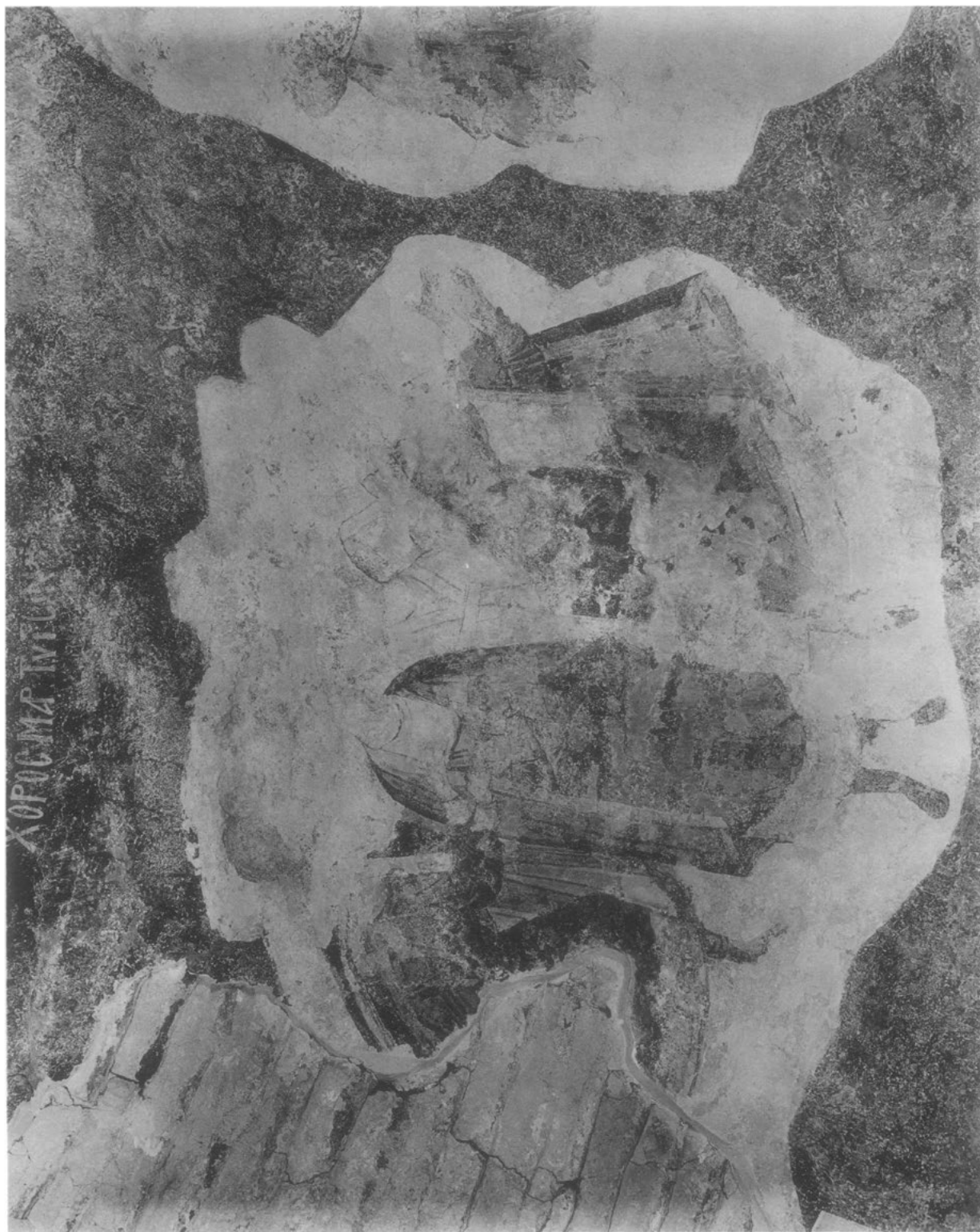
8. Apostles at right



9. Chorus of Hierarchs



10. Chorus of Hosioi (left) and Chorus of Women (right)



11. Chorus of Martyrs



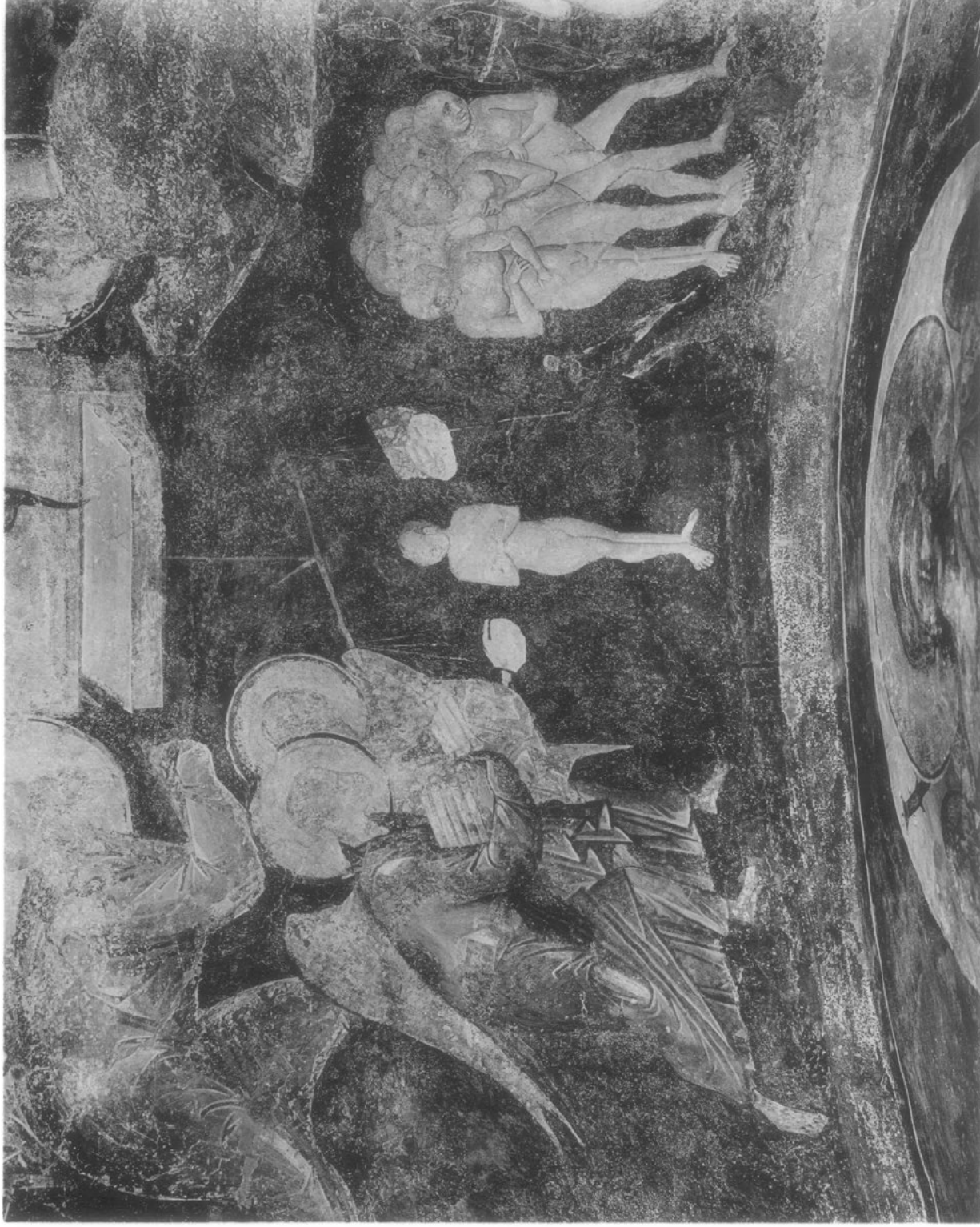
12. Chorus of Apostles



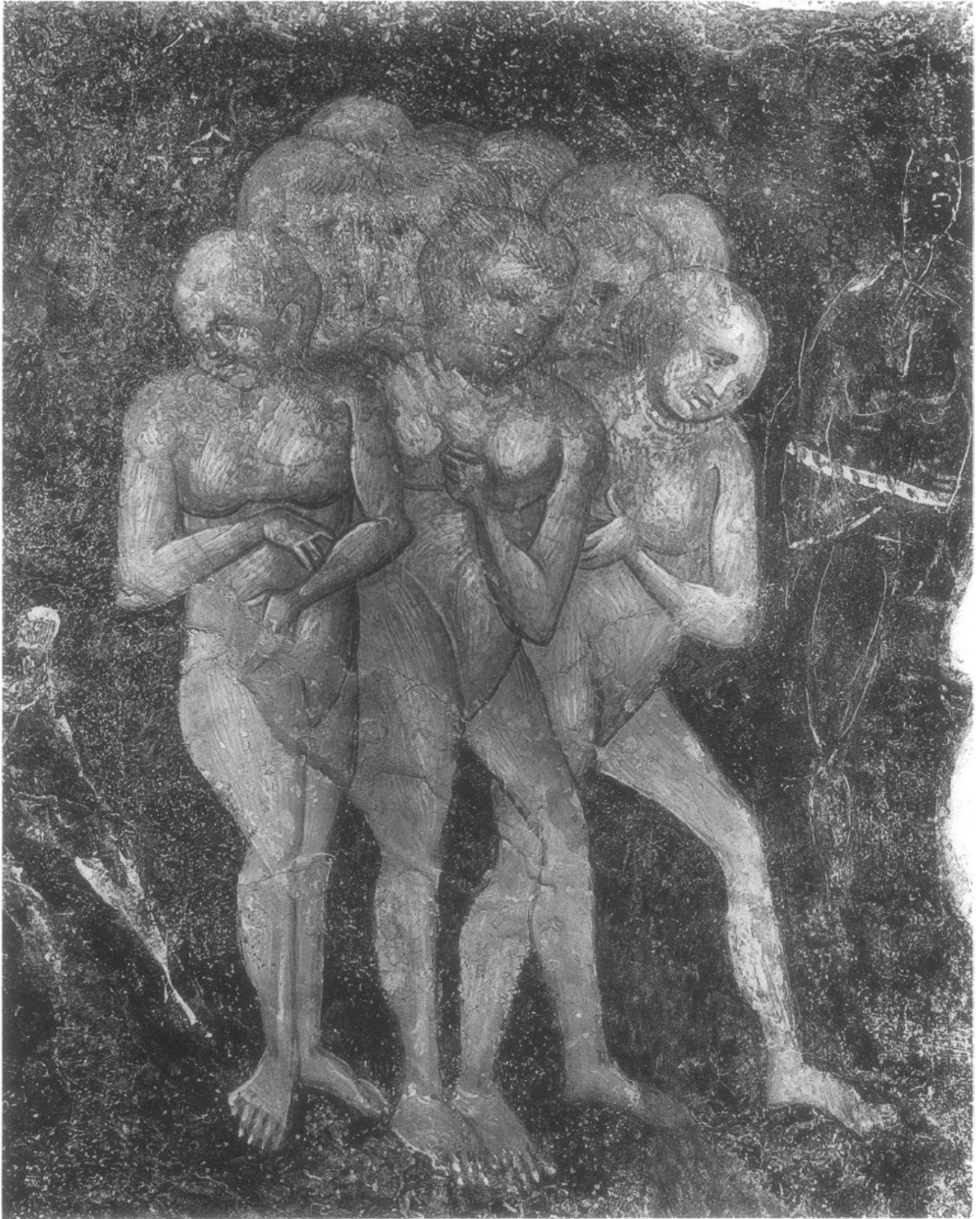
13. Chorus of Prophets



14. The Etimasia



15. The Weighing of Souls



16. Condemned Souls



17. Condemned Souls Led into the Fire



18. The Lake of Fire



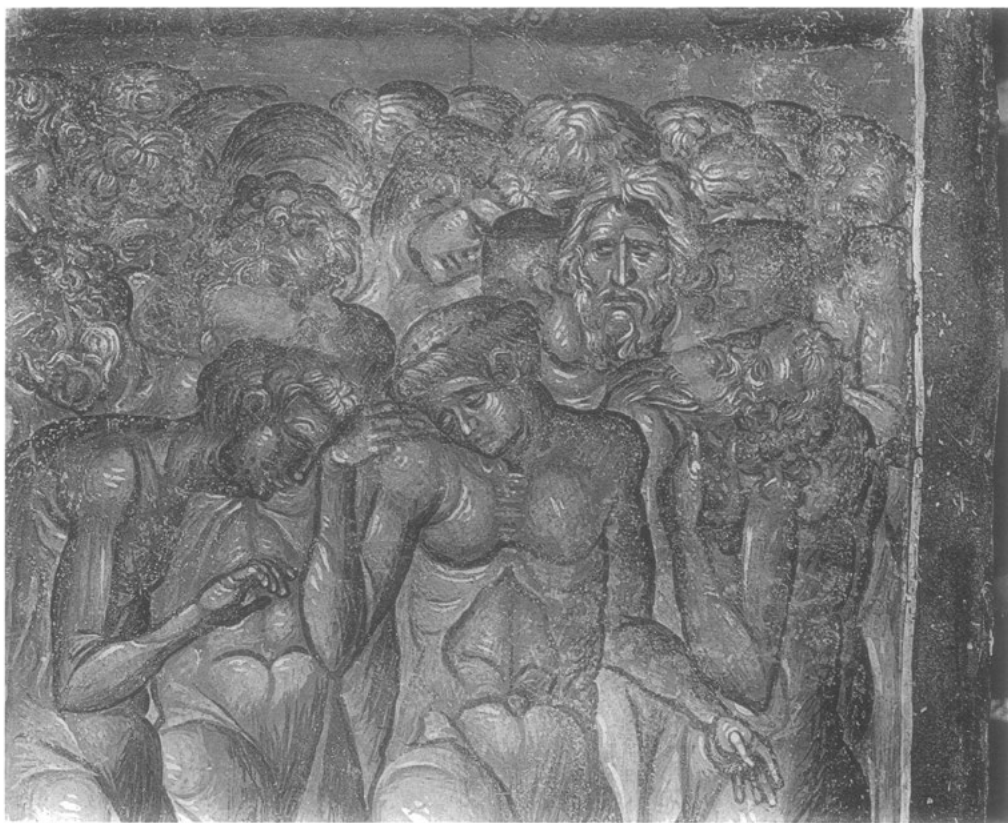
19. The Lake of Fire. Detail



20. The Torments of the Damned



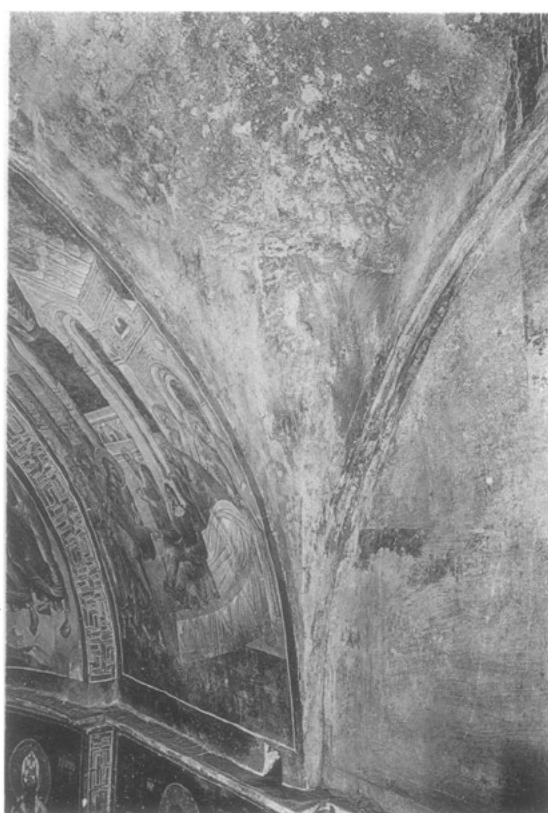
21. The Worm that Sleepeth Not



22. The Unquenchable Fire
The Torments of the Damned. Details



23. Northeast Pendentive



24. Southeast Pendentive



25. Southwest Pendentive



26. Northwest Pendentive

Pendentives. Before cleaning



27. Northeast Pendentive. Abraham and Souls in Paradise



28. Southeast Pendentive. The Rich Man in Hell

Pendentives. After cleaning



29. Southwest Pendentive. The Land and Sea Giving up their Dead
Pendentives. After cleaning



30. Northwest Pendentive. Angel conducting Lazarus to Abraham



31. West Half



32. East Half

North Lunette of East Bay. Before cleaning



33. North Lunette. The Entry of the Elect into Paradise. After cleaning



34. The Entry of the Elect into Paradise. Center detail



35. The Entry of the Elect into Paradise. Right detail

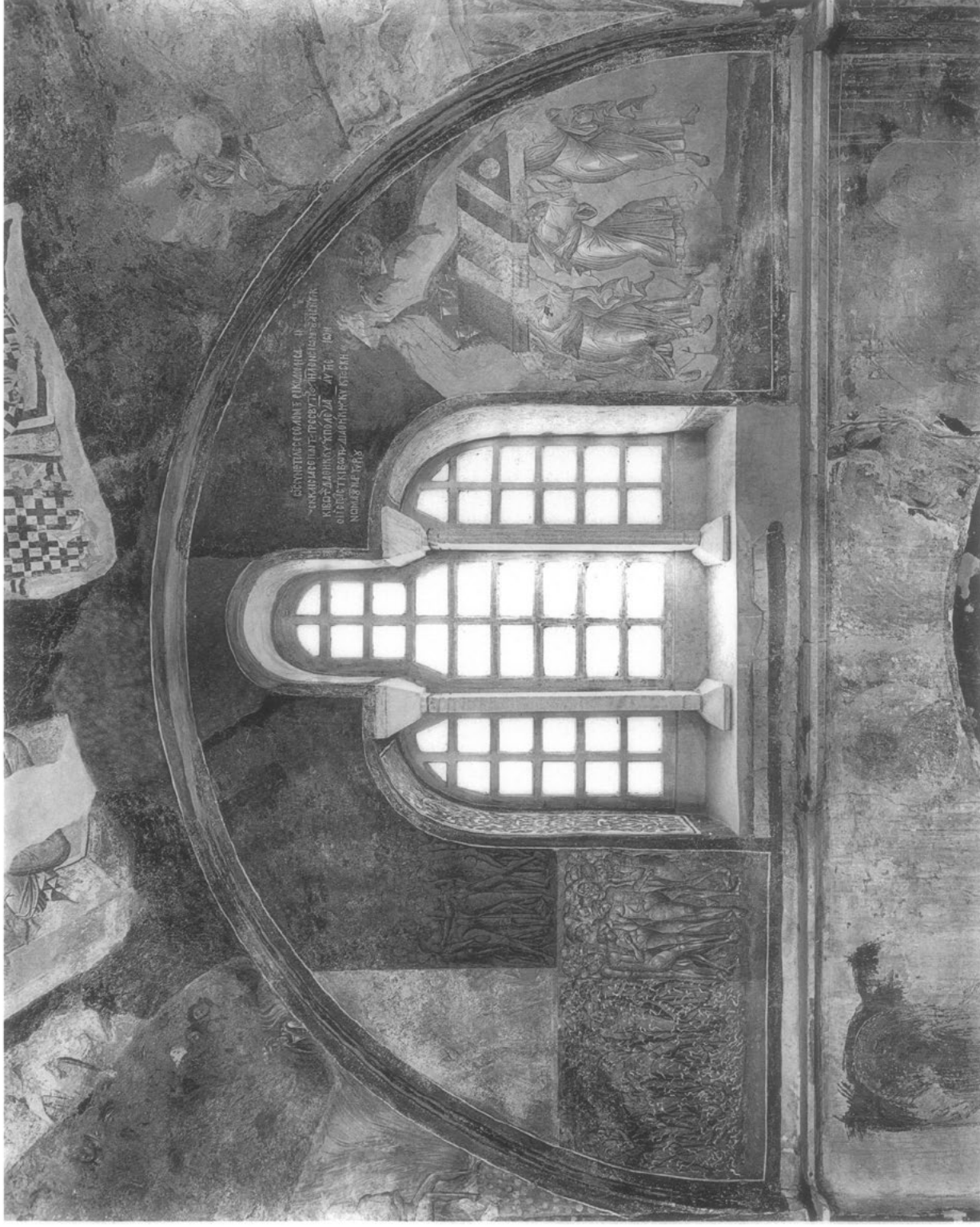


36. East Half

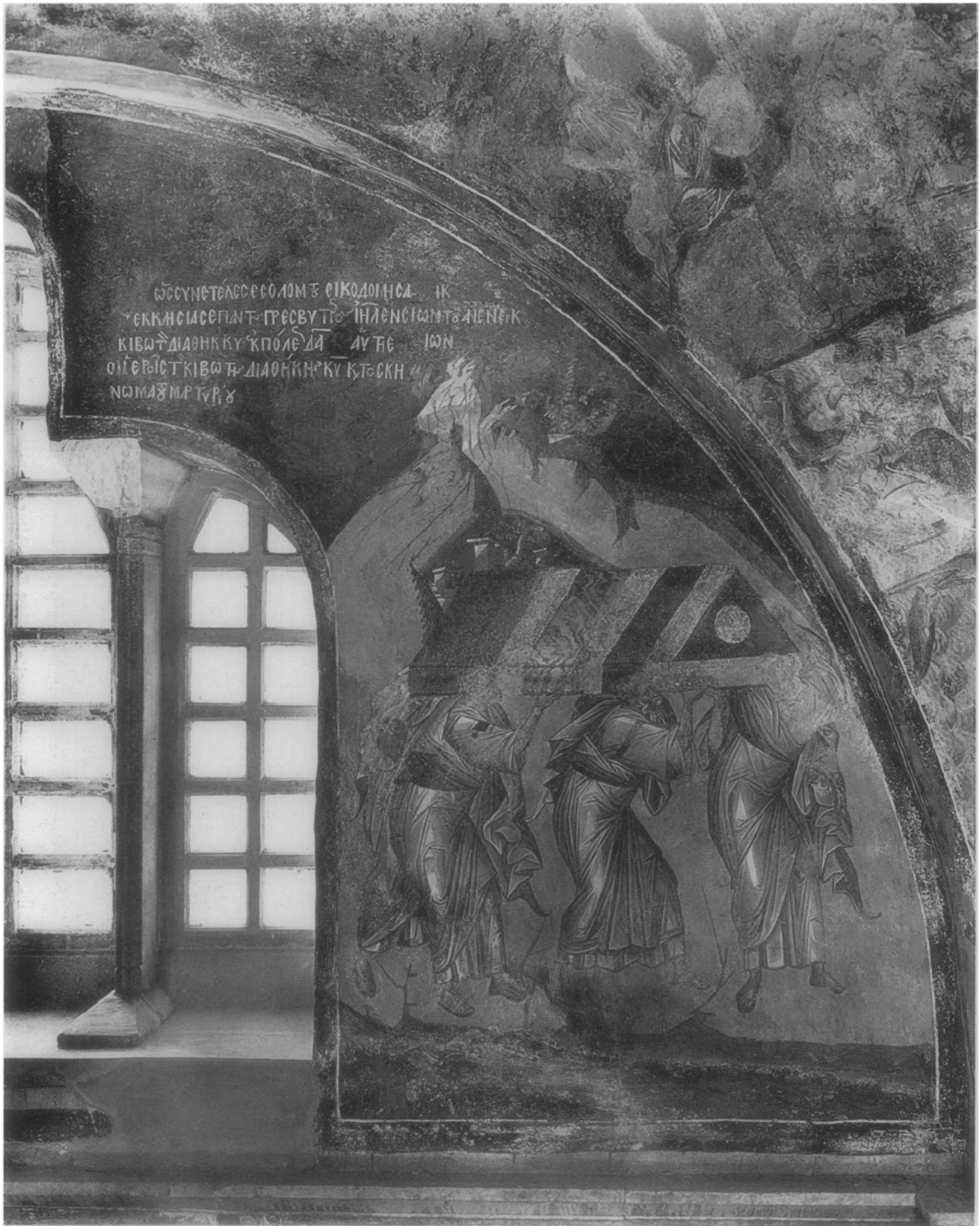
South Lunette of East Bay. Before cleaning



37. West Half



38. South Lunette of East Bay. After cleaning



39. South Lunette of East Bay. Right Side. The Bearing of the Ark of the Covenant to Solomon's Temple

cleaning and repair,⁵⁸ is illustrated in Figures 31 and 32; its present appearance in Figures 33, 34, and 35.

The subject is divided into two equal parts (fig. 33). At the left, led by St. Peter, is the crowd of the blessed who approach the gate of Paradise, guarded, as usual, by a cherub with drawn sword. The entire right half of the lunette, including the scene of Abraham in the pendentive at the right, is Paradise, represented as a luxuriant garden relieved against a white sky. Immediately within the gate stands the figure of the Good Thief holding a wooden cross. He points the way to the figure of the enthroned Virgin attended by two angels, who occupy the right side of the painting.

Among the Elect are apostles, possibly prophets, martyrs dressed in the garb of courtiers, at least two figures in episcopal vestments, and, at the far left, at least one woman. Thus, it is understood, most, if not all, of the categories of the Elect that were seen in the individual clouds of the vault of heaven, are here assembled to make their entry into Paradise. St. Peter, at their head, is shown inserting a key into the lock of the gate (fig. 34). With few exceptions the heads of the Elect have suffered from the effects of the yellow paint with which they had been painted out. St. Peter's head and one or two others behind him are the only ones still retaining much more than traces of cartoon drawing and underpainting.

Beginning at the far left, the successive figures can be described as follows: The woman, dressed entirely in red, including a red covering for the head, is preceded by a figure in a red divitission with gold brocaded hem and vertical band up the front. Over this he wears a blue chlamys similarly bordered with brocade. To the right is a figure in a sombre garb of black with gray and some yellow used as highlights in the outer garment. The bishop, who comes next, wears a very light violet chasuble on which is a pattern of crosses and gammas. These are painted in dark values of red-violet, and the folds are highlighted in white. His *omophorion* is light yellow with traces of black crosses at the shoulders. The *sticharion*, or long tunic, is also light yellow. The upper part of another bishop is visible in one of the rear ranks, immediately to the right. His *omophorion* is painted in several values of red-violet with very dark violet crosses. To the right is a martyr who is dressed in a red divitission with gold brocades, red and gold buskins, and a green chlamys, bordered with golden brocade, on which is a golden

seems to have been regarded as sufficient to include all parts of the subject. The only other inscriptions are those recording Christ's words of acceptance and rejection, and those above the individual Choirs of the Elect which served as compositional aids by emphasizing and sharpening the circle of forms around the central element of the dome.

⁵⁸ Described *supra*, p. 240.

tablion. The figure to his right, possibly an apostle, wears a light blue chiton over which is a yellow himation whose shaded areas are dull greenish yellow. Between him and the next figure of the front rank is one who wears a light blue chiton and a bright yellow himation. The next figure, in the front rank behind St. Peter, wears a blue chiton and a red-violet himation. Peter himself wears a blue chiton and a yellow himation, as he usually does in his representations at the Kariye Camii. Some shaded areas of the yellow seem to contain terre verte.

The gate of Paradise, at the center of the lunette (fig. 34), is in the form of a stele with moulded base, a vertical rectangular shaft, and a moulded coping. The base and coping are represented as veined marble, in grays; the shaft, which is understood to be a door, since it has a lock in its left edge, is painted yellow. Centered on this door is the nimbed cherub, guardian of the gates. The painting of the cherub is monochrome, in earth reds with highlights in pink and white. The painting is remarkably well-preserved with little loss except in the sword, held vertically by the right hand, and in the lower tips of the wings.

The Good Thief (fig. 34) holds a simple wooden cross in his right hand as he looks to the left toward those who are about to enter. With his left hand he gestures toward the enthroned Virgin at the right. He is clad only in a loin cloth, knotted at the center, which is painted light brown with highlights of light gray. Otherwise the figure is nude and the colors of the body are those used throughout in representing flesh; that is, yellows, greens, and browns for modelling, and some red in the deeper shadows. Deep red is used in the drawing and white in the highlights. The hair and beard are brown with extensive use of white in the lights. The nimbus is yellow bordered by dark earth-red.

The left half of the figure of the Virgin (fig. 35), and part of the figure of the angel at the left were lost as a result of the earthquake which caused a wide fissure in the masonry and even wider losses of plaster at each side. Enough remains, however, to indicate that the Virgin was frontally posed, with hands raised, palms outward, and held close together before her in an orant attitude that must have been very similar to that of the Virgin in Paradise in the Last Judgement at Torcello.⁵⁹ The angels stand at each side partially concealed behind the back of the throne. The Virgin is clad in a deep blue tunic, and wears over it a dark red-violet maphorion which also covers her head, and is ornamented, over her forehead, with a yellow star.

⁵⁹ G. Lorenzetti, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Though this gesture is sometimes given to the Virgin in earlier representations of Paradise (as also at Backovo, A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 60; and Paris, *ms. gr. 74*, *op. cit.*, pl. 41), it is not usual in late versions which commonly show her with only her right hand raised in this fashion.

Much of the surface paint of the face and neck is lost, but, while it is lacking in some finished detail, the features are still visible in the underpainting. She sits on a dark red cushion which projects at the right. The upper part of the back of the throne still retains some of the lighter red color in which it was painted, but the seat and the foot stool, which are badly effaced, retain traces of linear underpainting in gray and pale tones of the yellow in which they must have been painted. While the head of the angel at the left retains only the underpainting, the garments are quite well-preserved. He wears a dark blue tunic which is visible in the shoulder and sleeve at the left, and a red-violet himation somewhat lighter in value than the maphorion of the Virgin. The one wing that survives was brown except for the long underfeathers that appear at the tip, which are painted blue. The browns have deteriorated badly, but the blue is well-preserved. The upper half of the figure of the angel at the right has fared better. He too wears a blue tunic; his himation is a greenish yellow. All three figures bore yellow haloes, doubtless once covered with gold, which are bordered in dark earth-red.

The background of the left half of the lunette, above the knees of the Elect, is black. Originally, the black of the sky had been covered by a thin application of azurite. Although none was found in the lunette, the cumulative evidence from many scattered parts of the Parecclesion indicates that all black surfaces of sky were once rendered blue.⁶⁰ A zone of what is now a lighter value of black extends across the bottom of the lunette. In the left half of the lunette it reaches the knees of the figures and forms a zone in which they stand. In the right half it is much narrower and coincides approximately with the strip of plaster that was added by the painters as a secondary operation.⁶¹ This lower zone of black, in both halves of the lunette, had once been painted over in a dark green paint of which only the merest traces now remain. Over the white background of Paradise the trees, plants, and vines were added in brownish greens of several values. The trunks and some of the foliage of the trees are greenish brown. For the detailing of leaves, the basic color is much lightened with white. Some of the vines on each side of the Good Thief bear red blossoms.

THE BEARING OF THE ARK OF THE COVENANT TO SOLOMON'S TEMPLE (Figures 37-39)

Among the paintings that were published and described in the "Second Preliminary Report" was a series of four successive scenes which together depicted the bearing of the ark of the covenant and the sacred vessels to the

⁶⁰ See "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274, 282, 286; "Second Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁶¹ See *supra*, p. 240

holy of holies in Solomon's temple.⁶² It was noted there that the first of these scenes, which occupied the right half of the southern lunette of the eastern bay, had not yet been restored, but that its inscription had received preliminary cleaning and that the text had been identified as the first three verses and part of the fourth of III Kings 8. Work on this scene was completed in the season of 1956. The state of this painting, before the work of cleaning and restoration began is illustrated in Figure 37; its present state, in Figures 38 and 39. The inscription, above and to the left of the scene (fig. 39), reads as follows: [Καὶ ἐγένετο] ὡς συνετέλεσε Σολομ(ὸν) (sic) τοῦ οἰκοδομήσα[ι τὸν ο]ἶκ[ον Κυρίου, τότε ἐξ]εκλησίασε(ν) πάν(τας) τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰ(σρα)ήλ ἐν Σιών, τοῦ ἀνεγεγκ[εῖν τὴν] κιβωτ(ὸν) διαθήκ(ης) Κ(υρίο)υ ἐκ πόλε(ως) Δα[υιδ] αὕτη ἐ[στὶν] Σ[ι]ών. [Καὶ ἦραν] οἱ ἱεροῖς (sic) τ(ὴν) κιβω(τὸν) τῆς διαθήκης Κ(υρίο)υ κ(αὶ) τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ μαρτυρίου.⁶³

The painting depicts four men bearing the ark of the covenant on their shoulders. They seem to have emerged through a great cleft in the rocks of the background through which the battlements of the city of David are to be seen. The ark is being borne toward the right, the direction in which the procession moves in the arch and lunette to the right in which are shown the bearing of the sacred vessels, Solomon leading the congregation of Israel, and the culminating scene in which the ark is deposited in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple.

The ark (fig. 39) is painted very much as it was in the fourth scene of the series.⁶⁴ The triangle of the gable at the right is red-violet. The successive bands down the sloping sides of the top, beginning at the front, are yellow (in imitation of gold), red-violet, yellow, gray and white (as though in imitation of the veining of marble), yellow, and red-violet. The disc, or medallion, in the center of the gable has lost all traces of any image that may have been painted there.⁶⁵

Only the back of the bearer at the extreme left is visible. Like all four figures, he wears a blue tunic, and over this a yellow himation in which some of the drawing is executed in brownish red. On the sleeve of the blue tunic of the second bearer is a dark earth-red patch, or insigne. The himation is red-violet. Little more than the underpainting of the head now remains. The face and beard of the third figure is in good state of preservation.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, pp. 188-194.

⁶³ "And it came to pass when Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord, then he assembled all the elders of Israel in Sion, to bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, this is Sion, and the priests took up the ark of the covenant of the Lord and the tabernacle of testimony."

⁶⁴ "Second Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 26; p. 193.

⁶⁵ In view of the fact that this painting is part of the cycle of Old Testament anti-types of the Virgin that fills the arches and lunettes of the western part of the Parecclesion, it would

The sleeve of his tunic has a dark blue-gray *clavus*, and his himation is green. The head of the fourth bearer has also suffered loss of surface paint, although the figure is otherwise well-preserved. His himation is yellow.

Across the base of the panel is a zone of green. Above this the slopes of the mountain are painted in warm grays. The prismatically-shaped rocks at the top of the mountain are painted in grays with shadows of brown, full lights of yellow, and with some few highlights of white. The battlements of the city, visible through the opening in the mountain, are warm gray in the lights and brown in the shadows; the tree is painted in the same colors.

be expected that the image of the Virgin would have been painted here as it was in three other subjects in the cycle. See "Second Preliminary Report," pp. 209-211.